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IMPEACHMENT.

THE DUTY OF CONGRESS—THE IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT — ADDRESS BY GEN. BUTLER IN ALBANY, N. Y.

A LARGE audience assembled on Saturday evening, the 2d inst., at Tweddle Hall, Albany, N. Y., to listen to an address by Gen. B. F. Butler. On being introduced, the General was received with great applause. He spoke as follows :

I have ventured, at the request of some of my fellow-citizens, to come before you to discuss a somewhat unusual topic. Happily for our country, heretofore there has scarcely been need to examine into the action of the reserved powers of the Constitution. Now it would seem that the attention of the American people is so far called to the questions of how they may right themselves against wrongs, and remove from themselves the consequences of accidents, that it becomes necessary that we should understand why it was that our fathers put the great power of impeachment and removal into the Constitution of the United States. (Applause.) Let us do this without heat, calmly, coolly, in the full exercise of judgment, seeking to convince the reason and instinct, and not to inflame the passions. Harsh vituperations, hard names, slander, scandal, and personal abuse never yet harmed any man ; for, if it had, he who speaks to you would have been dead long, long ago. (Laughter and applause.) I do not at this day and this hour propose to speak of any personal crimes. I do not wish that the United States Senate shall be an Old Bailey Court to try petty offences ; but the question to which I propose to call your attention is, from what we know of the current history of this country, has Andrew Johnson been guilty of any violations of the Constitution—any usurpations of power—any acts which are not good behavior in the office which he holds ? First, then—and I propose to only take one or two instances—has he been guilty of usurpation of executive power ? We will look at the history of the close of the rebellion, when he undertook to organize governments by executive authority in the rebellious States, without the assistance of Congress. No one claims—even his apologist, a distinguished citizen of your State, who presided at the Philadelphia Convention, did not claim that he had any constitutional authority for so doing. Now, then, what did he do ? He appointed seven Governors over those States. Was there any law for the appointment of those Governors ? No. Could he pay them their salaries by any law ? No. Had they any authority ? No. Could he give them any authority ? No. No man pretends it. What further ? He told the people of those States who should and who should not vote. Where did he get the authority for that ? He organized them into States, and gave them the form and semblance of governments, and has sustained those governments down to the hour when I am addressing you. Did he do this unwittingly, without thought ? It is to be presumed not. When he found he was wrong did he repent ? That is a question which would bear largely upon him. No. The telegraph of this hour flashes to us that in a message to Congress, the body which has declared, by a vote of two-thirds of their members, that no legal governments exist in those States, he has sent in a veto to that body overruling the thought and the declaration of the Representatives of the people of the United States in both Houses assembled. (Sensation.) He did this unconstitutional act ; he has persevered in it to the end ; he stands by it to-day. Two-thirds of both Houses of Congress have said that the acts were illegal, and that no legal governments exist there. Somebody ought to be impeached—either both Houses or the President. Which shall it be ? (Laughter and applause.) Why shall we, the people of the United States, stand by and see the Executive on the one side, and the legislative body on the other—one asserting one thing, and the other asserting another ; one carrying on the government in one way, and the other obstructing it on the other side. I am now admitting, you will observe, that both do it honestly. One is right and the other wrong—which is which, and which must give way ? And what is the only constitutional method of getting one or the other out of the way ? The question whether Congress was wrong was submitted to the people last October, and by an overwhelming majority they said that Congress was right. (Great applause.) The final arbiter in this country, that tribunal to which every public question must be submitted—that great judge whose sober, sound thought is never wrong, and always efficient, has spoken on this side, and has spoken in terms not to be misunderstood ; and one man opposes the great march of the people of this country in the settlement of the greatest war and rebellion ever known. Whether he believes he is right or believes he is wrong is not the question. The question is : "Is he in the way ?" (Laughter and applause.) If he is, he must be got out of it. The question is not to be put in any other form. I will take one or two other illustrations. Pardon me if I go back. Some gentlemen may say to me : "Why, President Lincoln appointed Provisional Governors, did he not ? President Johnson has done no more than President Lincoln. Did not President Lincoln appoint Andrew Johnson Provisional Governor of Tennessee ?" Not at all, not at all. President Lincoln appointed Andrew Johnson Brigadier-General in the army of the United States ; that is an officer known to the law, and gave him the salary of a Brigadier, and that is a salary known to the law. He had conquered in war the rebellious State of Tennessee, and he made Johnson Military Governor of Tennessee, and as such Military Governor in command of troops, he exercised his office. But Andrew Johnson appointed, for instance, W. W. Holden Provisional Governor of Tennessee, a civilian to a civil office that was never known to the Constitution, or under the law, and paid him a salary not provided for by law ; and he took the money from the contingent fund of the War Department to pay the salary, because he could not get it out of the treasury in any other way. That is the difference. And when men tell you he has done no more than President Lincoln, ask them to note the difference, and observe it carefully. Though I agree that, if he had done it unwittingly, with good motives, and it turned out a bad experiment, and when he found out that it was a bad experiment he had yielded to the people—why, to err is human, and we should always bow in reverence to that great thought that no man is perfect. But this is a case where to-day we hear he not only does not bow to the will of the people, but when we, the people, through our Representatives, propose to extend military protection over this great disorganized country, where, by solemn vote, the Representatives of the people have resolved, what we know to be the fact, that there is no adequate protection of life and property, we find that that bill Andrew Johnson vetoes, and the veto now is flashing over the wires for the information of the country. (Sensation.)

Again, the President of the United States had a right to pardon—nobody doubts it. So has your Governor a right to pardon ; and I have told you what you would do with your Governor if he were to let out all your prisoners by a sweep of his pen ; but what are you going to do with your President, who pardons almost by the hundred thousands—I can say by thousands upon thousands ? I am not questioning whether Mrs. A, or B, or C, or D got a pardon—whether a little more or a little less is paid for them—that is an old Bailey matter that I don't want to disturb just now. The main thing is this indiscriminate power of pardon. Does any one here think that it is constitutional for the President to carry the pardoning power so far as to be obliged to have a pardon-mill to grind out pardons by the thousands ? Does anybody believe that ? Again, I will not go into the question of appointments to office, for I hold that there is something higher, more noble, and more grand in political action than the question of who should hold office ; and if I were to draw articles of impeachment, I would put those main great acts of his as the principal dish, and perhaps I might pepper it, and salt it with a little of his personal actions, and the question of how he disposed of the offices ; but that would be but the condiments to the great dish which I should propose to put before the American people. Now, the question is to every fair mind, is there, under the principles which I have had the honor to put before you, ground for moving against him ? I have rarely heard a loyal man who doubted that. Here, then, is the only question : "Is it expedient ! Is it best ? Hadn't we better get along with him ? Is it worth while ?" And to these questions, allow me for a moment to call your attention. In the first place, I ground myself upon this great principle as an impregnable one—what is just and right is always expedient (applause). But I don't propose simply to stop there. "Why is it not expedient ?" says one. The answer is, "Oh ! it will injure the Republican party." That gentleman who uses that argument looks to the Republican party as the party that saved the country during the war, and as the only party that can settle this great question, and therefore it is equivalent to saying that it will injure the country. (Applause.) If it will, then we won't do it. Let us examine and see if it will do so. How will it injure the Republican party ? In two ways, it is said—first, that if we attempt to impeach President Johnson he will use the army and navy against us. Then he will add treason to his other misdemeanors. Let the timid quake not, and the cowardly fear not—there will be no use of the American army and navy against the American people (applause), for they are a part of the people. (Applause.) They will go with the people—they are our brothers and sons and our citizens, and they are like us and feel like us, and that danger, if it ever existed, has in the mind of every good man passed away. But, it is said, that you will bring on a Presidential election right off, and you have got to have two elections for President, one in 1867 and another in 1868. Let me correct that misunderstanding. It will bring on an election next Fall, instead of 1868 ; but when a man shall be elected he will be elected for four years, and not for any balance of a term. There will be but one Presidential election, and I think, for the benefit of the country, the sooner it comes, is over with, and is settled, the better. (Applause.) Another matter that is put to me, it is said that if we impeach and remove President Johnson, in the meantime we will make the President of the Senate President, and if he is President and behaves well, that will make him the next candidate for President, and the next President. Well, I have got a telegram that tells me that glorious old Ben Wade is to be President of the Senate (applause) ; and for one I could see many worse things happen to this country than to see him President for the next four years. (Applause.) Another proposition that is taken is, that it will disturb the business of the country. How is the business now ? (Laughter.) Paralyzed because we don't know how this thing is going to be settled. Is it best to wait two years longer and allow this continued chronic state of unsettlement to go on ?

Let me call your attention further to another trouble. "Why," I am told, "don't do this ; if you do, you will injure our bonds abroad—you will shake our credit abroad." What has our credit to do abroad ? We carried on this war, and the bankers of Europe would not lend us a dollar till we got through substantially, and showed that we were the strongest and ablest nation on the globe. And then, when we got through the war, they consented to take our bonds at forty, fifty, and sixty cents on the dollar ; and I believe now they have got up to seventy-two or seventy-four cents, or somewhere thereabout. Well, they say that our bonds will go down in Europe, and the people of Europe won't take them. I may be mistaken, my friends ; but it seems to me that if I could bring about that result, I should almost be willing to be impeached myself. (Laughter.) Let us examine a moment to see if I am right. When I am borrowing money largely I want my credit to stand good at the bank ; when I am paying largely, I don't care a snap how my credit stands at the bank. When we were borrowing money we could not borrow any in Europe ; when we are paying money, I don't care anything about Europe thinking we are in good credit or bad. (Laughter and applause.) More than that, let us examine it in another form. These bonds are now selling at 72 cents on the dollar. What do we get for them ? We get an immense importation of goods, paid for with these bonds. We try to pass tariffs, but tariffs are useless, because we are trading with from 25 to 30 cents in gold against us all the time, in this, that we are buying goods and paying for them in our bonds at 72 cents in gold, and those bonds bear interest at six per cent. on 100 cents. Of course Europe never expects a country to pay the principal of their debt ; they only want to be sure that the interest is regularly paid. They get the interest on 100 cents, and these bonds are as good to them as 100 ; and the cheaper they get them the better, so long as they feel sure we will pay the interest, and so long as they take 72 cents and charge us 100. And we wonder about the great importation—we wonder that our tariff and revenue acts do not prevent importation. Now, then, I say again, if we could prevent these bonds from being sold abroad, and if we could bring them home at 20 cents on the dollar, in my judgment it would be a great matter of gain to the country. I have heard of countries, but they are very few, that paid their debts dollar for dollar : but I have never heard of a country, and I am afraid that I never shall in the time that will be allotted to me of the years given to man, that paid its debt 100 cents for 40 received. It never has been done and never will be done. And, yet, here we are twisting and turning, and bringing our business into all sorts of disaster, and trying every way to return back to specie payment, and what for ? What do we expect to accomplish by it ? We expect to raise the $600,000,000 bonds in Europe, which are bought at 40 cents per 100, and to put from $200,000,000 to $400,000,000 in the pockets of the Jew bankers of Frankfort and Bremen. And, now, I am not very anxious for that ; and if impeachment or anything else will stop that, it does not frighten me that that won't happen if impeachment comes. It would make a ripple—and that is the trouble it would make. It would give a severe fright in Europe, and our bonds would come back for what they went out for. I should be glad : for it is easier to pay $300,000,000 than $600,000,000—$20,000,000 than $40,000,000. And if they came back at 10 cents on the dollar, all the better for the poor laboring classes, out of whom they came. (Applause.) I am told again that it is not worth while to impeach the President, because we can prevent him from doing anything. I agree to that. And he has shown that he can prevent us from doing anything. (Laughter.) We pass laws, but he executes them—or rather he don't execute them. And then, where are we ? We try to surround him, to repress him—we are putting certain power into the hands of the Supreme Court (but there has not been much disposition to go in that direction lately) ; we put power into the hands of Gen. Grant, and but little power into the hands of the President. Why is this ? Because of the present incumbent. But it is a great and glorious office, and let us let that alone ; and, if the man is wrong, take him out of the place and put in a decent man, and leave the position fit to be filled by a decent man. (Applause.) You passed a Reconstruction and Military bill. Yes. He has vetoed it. Yes. You passed it over his head. Yes. What then ? You say you will impeach him if he does not execute it. You passed a Civil Rights bill, did you not ? Yes. He vetoed it, did he not ? Yes. He has not executed it, has he ? No. Have you impeached him ? No. Who is going to be afraid if you stand it ? What does he fear your threat of impeachment, because of non-execution of the Reconstruction bill ? What can he say ? He says I sent down my officers there. And when the officer begins to do anything, the people don't mind him, because they think the President is on their side ; and you put into the seventh section that nobody should be hanged down there until he agrees to it. There have been more than five hundred murders of Union men in the South, and he has agreed to hang nobody, from Davis down. Is he beginning to change at all ? No, His heart is not in it, and your Military and Reconstruction bills fail, and we stand in the cowardly position of seeing our friends, white and black, murdered, all over the South, and we stand idle without helping them. How much longer is it to continue on the ground of expediency ? How long will the people of this country bear with us of the Republican party, and how long will the country stand this strain ? I have dwelt on this thus far as a matter with the country. Let us look at it a moment as a matter of party, because I have no hesitation in speaking of this ; for I believe the country must look to the loyal party that carried it through the war for a settlement of this question. (Applause.) Let us look which is best. The President is irrevocably against us. We, the Radical people, if you please—we, the men that want this question settled, and want the country at peace, and want the South reconstructed, and want the loyal men protected—the President, I say, is against us—what shall we do ? How can we act to change this ? The matter will be thrown into the seething, boiling cauldron of the next Presidential election in 1868 ; and in 1868 what may happen ? The electoral vote may depend upon these disloyal States at the South. The President insists that they are in the Union—they will hold elections and vote. Suppose that the men that opposed the war in the North, the representatives of the Chicago platform of 1864, carry votes enough in the North, in conjunction with the votes in the South, to make a President, and the President has the army and navy with him ; and suppose that he should happen to have the Supreme Court with him, too, so that it was doubtful which the army and navy would obey, and, whatever the decision may be, here is a great constitutional question about which no two men agree—what will happen then ? Ought you not—do you not—expect to have war upon that question ? If the vote of the South, as it stands now, make a President against you, Republicans, will you yield to that ? No. If the votes of the South with the votes of the North make a President for you, will the Northern Democrats yield to that ? They say "No." And I think we may well all of us say no ; we won't yield without a struggle. And then you bring on the same state of anarchy you feared to. Which is the part of statesmanship, to put this off, to keep this state of disruption and anarchy in the country, ruin and outrage going on at the South—starvation going on there ; for no capital or labor will flow down there—to keep it on two years longer, or is it expedient to settle it now, by doing what ? By putting on trial the officer who stands in the way of the progress of this country in the settlement of the war for the rebellion ? (Applause.) Fellow-citizens, I desire that you shall only judge of this matter in the fairness and clearness of judgment and reason ; and as you find it, so determine—determine for yourselves, each for himself—and determine it first upon the question of right, and lastly upon the question of expediency. And let us determine and look upon it in the light of the great and final achievement of Republican institutions, that they are strong enough to carry on the greatest war that ever was known, and strong enough to deal at last with the greatest enemy of his country that ever got in the Presidential chair. (Great applause.)

THE IMPEACHMENT.

THE reluctance of the American people to consider the question of impeachment, is highly to its credit. An impulsive, mobile people would have hurled the rebel-President from his place a year ago. But, though most bitterly outraged by his conduct, the great nation has patiently waited and watched, mindful that no step be taken in haste or spite, until now in the fullness of time it seems about to reach forth its hand and remove its misguided servant from the place which he is unable to fill.

Just as we emerge, bleeding but triumphant, from a struggle for life, our trusted President is murdered, and his successor instantly proceeds to fulfil the craftiest hope which the assassin could have entertained. Hardly once, seemingly, has the President failed to do what the subtlest head in the rebellion would have directed.

If he had been a little less wary in the outset, he would have exposed himself and fallen ; but with craven instinct, or diabolical counsel, he has betrayed the nation so cleverly, that even now good patriots stand aghast, crying in despair that impeachment must fall for want of proof.

With all respect for the legal profession, we believe that the question in its main bearings is not one for the lawyers, but for the people who establish all civil law. It is possible, we presume, to frame an indictment which would satisfy the most technical lawyer, but it is for the people to determine, as they are now doing, whether this important action is in itself righteous and necessary ; and then their representatives must find the proper legal machinery, or tell us what more is needed.

It must be acknowledged that the technical grounds of impeachment have not yet been stated in such a form as to satisfy the cautious scrutiny of the public mind. That may be the fault of the law, which can be changed, or of its expositors, who may become more skillful.

We hold it to be undisputed that a President who willfully and persistently chooses a course which, if unchecked, tends to put the government into the power of its enemies, is a dangerous President and ought to be removed. That the leaders of the rebellion were enemies of the government, is plain ; that Andrew Johnson has done all in his power to elevate them at the expense of their conquerors, cannot be denied. His motive may have been spotless, but his deeds are atrocious. It is for pursuing this general policy that the loyal millions desire his removal from office. His protestations of fidelity to principle may be estimated at their true value, when we consider the fact that he continues to address as a Congress that which he has repeatedly declared to be no Congress, but an irregular body hanging on the verge of the government. Is that patriotic ? If the country is without a Congress, the President ought to be impeached for calling the usurpers of the national capitol by that name. And if the XXXIXth Congress be the lawful body which even the President's supporters admit, by their presence and action there, then the President who leaves his post, taking with him his chief counsellors, civil and military, and travels the length and breadth of the land appealing for help to put down an illegal Congress—yet recognized by himself as legal—ought for that alone to be impeached and removed. It is true that this was only talk ; but New Orleans tells the story of what the President would have done with the unlawful gathering at the Capitol, if his talk had produced the effect which he sought.

The safety and well-being of the Republic require the removal of President Johnson, because of his flagrant unfitness, as manifested in many ways ; as, for instance,

He has sought to betray the nation into the hands of its enemies.

He has usurped the powers of Congress.

He has put his official signature to bills passed by a body which he publicly declared was not a Congress.

He has without color of excuse ignored the Governor of what he admitted to be a sovereign State, and conferred as President with a subordinate officer.

He has given control over soldiers of the Republic to a violent and unrepentant rebel.

He has interfered by violence to break up a peaceful convention—such as may lawfully, and of its own volition, meet in any city of the Union.

He has reduced to a nullity the constitutional restrictions upon his power of appointment to office.

He has looked with seeming indifference upon scenes of continuous murder and outrage in districts subject to his military control ; and never in all his manifestoes has he asked for assistance to protect the lives of loyal men.

In fine, he has proved himself grievously unworthy, in the administration of the ordinary duties of his office : witness, the unlawful appointments to office, the Mexican trouble, the Fenian trap, the surrender of millions of United States property to rebels, the Motley correspondence. And in his treatment of all the grave, exceptional questions that are before the nation, he has exhibited a levity, a wilfulness, an inability to comprehend the spirit of the nation, which prove him to be hopelessly unfit for the position he holds.

It only remains for the representatives of the people to procure his removal in a lawful and becoming way. His partisans threaten bloody resistance—the old story. If it must come to that again, let it be now, before their chief has time to strengthen his cohorts farther. But we do not fear. As a New York weekly has well remarked, 'A nation which can bear without disturbance the removal of a generally-beloved chief magistrate by the knife, will endure, without agitation, the expulsion of an unworthy and detested chief magistrate, by the law."—*The Friend for March.*

ALEXANDRIA (VA.) MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

REJECTION OF THE COLORED MEN'S VOTES.

WASHINGTON, February 5th, 1867.

ACCORDING to information from Alexandria, Va., the Republicans held a mass meeting in Lyceum Hall, which was largely attended by colored men, and after addresses by the Republican candidate for the Mayorality (George G. Tucker) and others, they were instructed to offer their votes to the Commissioners of Election, but if refused, committees would take them.

This morning this course was pursued by the colored men, and the Commissioners ruled that they ought not to receive their votes. In consequence other places were opened for their reception. Mayor Latham, with some of the citizens, waited on the President to inquire as to the right of the colored man to vote, and was by him referred to the Attorney-General. The latter officer declined to give his opinion in so short a time, but said he was inclined to believe that they could not be thus entitled until the government had formally taken possession of the State.

Gen. Canby, commanding this department, in response to a request from Gov. Pierpont, made the necessary arrangements for a sufficient military force to be on the ground to preserve order if necessary. Two companies of the 12th Infantry, under command of Col. Stanhope in person, arrived in the propeller Rucker from Washington last night, and about daylight this morning three companies of the 5th Cavalry arrived, the whole being under the command of Gen. Emery, who has quarters at the office of the Freedmen's Commissioner.

A telegram from Alexandria received to-night says the election passed off without disorder. Mr. Latham was elected Mayor by about 63 majority. The negro votes were not received by the Commissioners, but were recorded by the Radical candidates for municipal offices. The Radical white vote was 56. It is reported that more than 1,000 negro votes were recorded.

ENCOURAGING ANOTHER REBELLION.

From the Detroit Post.

IT is well known and everywhere acknowledged that the New York *World* is the chief organ of the Democratic party of the North. It is also well known that the Democratic party of the North, as a party, through its party organs and leaders, sympathized with the Southern rebels in 1860, and encouraged them in precipitating the rebellion ; and that, during the rebellion, it encouraged the rebels in their resistance to the National authority. It is further known that recently the Democratic leading organs and leaders in the North have been threatening another rebellion, and inciting the South to begin another civil war, in case certain events should occur, some of which have occurred.

And now the New York *World* once more comes out openly and incites a new rebellion, provided only that the South can see any hope of success. It says plainly that the South ought to rebel again ; that it is justified in attempting another revolt ; and that the "*only* good reason for not appealing to arms in this conjuncture is the hopelessness of success." It follows that if, by any political intrigue by which foreign aid can be secured, or by which a division of the North can be produced, or by which, in any manner, the "only good reason" of a "hopelessness of success" can be removed, and a hope of success can be created, then the South should rebel at once, and destroy the Union, and the *World* and the Democratic party will sympathize with and aid the rebels in this bloody and wicked work. That we may not be accused of misrepresenting the *World*, we quote from its leading editorial of this week Tuesday, as follows :

"*If the Southern people should resist the execution of martial law by force, they would be fighting in as righteous a cause as any in which a patriot ever drew a sword.* ARMED RESISTANCE IS THE NATURAL AND APPROPRIATE MODE OF REDRESS FOR SUCH FLAGRANT INJUSTICE AS IS NOW MEDITATED AGAINST THE SOUTH. 'Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.' *The only good reason for not appealing to arms in this conjuncture is the hopelessness of success.*"

The *World* then proceeds to argue that, if the South possessed a majority in Congress, and in the Supreme Court, as it did in 1861, so that it could obtain its ends without war—in short, if the South could rule the Union—that it ought not to be rebel ; but, as it cannot rule the Union, rather than be ruled by the Radicals, it ought to rebel, if there was any prospect for success, which it sorrowfully confesses there is not, at present.

And, in so speaking, there is no doubt that the *World* speaks the sentiments of the leaders of the Democratic party of the North, whose organ it is. Comment upon the atrocity and treasonableness of the language we have quoted, is unnecessary. It is so plain and flagrant an incitement to rebellion, and justification of rebellion, that none can mistake its meaning and its heinousness.

A MEAN STATE.

From the Boston Commonwealth.

FOR a State that has a "Western Reserve," and such men in the past and present to represent it as Joshua R. Giddings, Salmon P. Chase and Ben Wade, the late action of the Ohio Legislature in refusing to strike the word "white" from its Constitution is inexplicably mean and cowardly. The election of Jacob D. Cox for Governor, on a platform denying colored equality at the polls, was ineffably disgraceful ; but this later act, after what the people have demanded, and Congress has enacted, and the proscribed race itself has achieved, is even more disgraceful. From Cox downward, including the majority of its Congressmen, it seems as though the leading men of Ohio were a set of small, piddling, selfish managers, regardless of principle and appearance, and only professing liberalism and progress for individual advancement and profit. Its attitude is contemptible, view it in any aspect ; and for it to claim rank with other Republican States is to place them in a false position and cast obloquy upon the very name they bear.

The language of the *Advertiser*, of this city, upon this action of Ohio, we cordially adopt as our own when it says that a finger-post, that points out to the traveller the right way but never budges from its own position, is a useful and even a necessary thing in its place. The duty of the representatives of a party of progress is radically different. He who teaches but does not practice, who directs but does not travel, is justly regarded in this world of motion and of moral obligation as either a coward or a hypocrite, or both. Christian people are apt to remember that the Pharisees were once anathematized as men who laid heavy burdens on the shoulders of others, but would not so much as lift the little finger themselves. Eighteen centuries have attested the justice of this sentence and added their own imprecations on the class that it denounces. But in other forms that class is constantly reappearing. Its present seat of power seems to be in our Western States. The dominant party in those States are proud of the name of radicals ; they blazon it on every public occasion—in season and out of season ; they are intolerant of toleration, and impatient of scruples begotten of an honest desire for impartial justice. They are a unit in favor of the military government of the South ; they voted to enforce universal suffrage on a people whose traditions, pride, prejudices and hopes are all arrayed against the theory of impartial political rights ; and now, having laid these heavy burdens on the South,—justly and wisely laid them on,—they are asked to abolish their own iniquitous black-laws, which disfranchise their loyal negro citizens and brand them as the pariahs of society, and they refuse to do so ! They prefer to be regarded as hypocrites and cowards—for their action entitles them to both of these epithets—rather than perform the least onerous of the duties that they have helped to impose on the South. They have put themselves under the moral leadership of Vallandigham, because they are afraid to recognize as the equals of their ignorant emigrant population a class of loyal natives, among whom is a man whom their own Chief-Justice Chase has admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States ! Since Mr. Johnson addressed the mob at Washington on the 22d of last February, there has been no humiliation of a high office so abject as this vote of the Ohio House of Representatives. We trust that the Republican press and Legislatures in other States will disown and denounce this act of treason to the principles on which our government is striving to establish itself.

RECONSTRUCTION IN MISSISSIPPI.

From the Chicago Republican.

WE are enabled to state, on the authority of the Vicksburg *Herald*, that there is a very simple and easy way in which a Northern man may secure the safety of his person and property in the State of Mississippi. To accomplish this it is only necessary *to agree with the Herald in politics.* It is in favor of "the kindly treatment" of all such. But for those who differ from the *Herald*, those whom it terms "unscrupulous, malignant libellers of the South, the professional agitators and inciters of negro insurrections,"—meaning those who believe in equal rights and negro suffrage—it advocates "very different treatment." "Such a man," it says, "should, we think, be treated as unceremoniously as the frontiersman does a wolf, a rattlesnake, or an Indian marauder. *The welfare of the Southern people, as well as that of the honest, well-meaning Northern men in our midst, alike demand the hanging of these atrocious miscreants, with as much expedition as their effectual strangulation will admit.*"

The *Herald's* condition is precisely like that of the insane man in the Chicago court, whose case we had occasion to allude to recently—the man who sought to be released from the legal restraints and disabilities of an insane man. He brought two doctors and several others who swore positively that he was sane ; but the subject of money having been introduced by the Judge, the petitioner straightway exhibited most unmistakable symptoms of insanity, which increased upon him until he became a raving maniac in the presence of the very tribunal to which he had appealed. So the Mississippi paper starts out with a stout denial that Northern men are unsafe in that State ; but before it gets through it happens to strike on the theme of its madness, abolitionism, and goes into a fit of frenzy in which it not only completely contradicts the assertions with which it starts out, but exhibits a most blood-thirsty and diabolical spirit of hatred, persecution and murder against Northern men who presume to go South and carry abolition sentiments with them. It would be difficult to find more conclusive evidence of the insecurity of loyal Northern men in Mississippi than is contained in the above extract from the Vicksburg *Herald.*

We give the editor of the Vicksburg *Herald*, and all like him, due notice, that the war against rebellion will go on until an Abolitionist, an advocate of universal suffrage, or of any other political views hateful to the rebels, shall be just as safe in Mississippi and just as free to utter his sentiments at any time and in all places there, as a rebel now is. The law passed by Congress, which the President can at most only postpone for a few days, will, we hope, result in the establishment of a government that will close the mouths of such blatant traitors and instigators of murder as the fellow who wrote the article in the *Herald.* Yet even such as he have served a useful purpose. Their menaces of violence, their encouragement of assassination, have helped to open the eyes of the country to the bloody and barbarous spirit that still animates the rebels, and to show the necessity of interference for the protection of the Union men, and the establishment of free and loyal governments in the South.

OUR RELATIONS TO THE SOUTH.

WE conversed yesterday with a gentleman just arrived from New Orleans. He went South with capital intending to invest it at some point there, or engage in business. He had travelled in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. He said he had concluded that his property rights would not be respected, nor his investment made remunerative, so long as his right to enjoy and express his own opinion is questioned, and be liable at any moment to forfeit his life by such expression. We asked : Would you loan such men money upon any security they could give ? He replied : "No, sir ; I have no faith in them. I would neither loan them money nor sell them goods on credit. And I am astonished that so many Northern men are doing so ; but I am told that there has been a marked change in this respect during the last six months. The visions of great gain that men hoped to realize from reposing confidence in their Southern brethren, are, with few exceptions, unrealized. I had rather have one hundred dollars well invested in any legitimate business North, than one thousand dollars in any business where I have been South. The South must be radically reconstructed, sir, before there can be any safety for an anti-rebellious man or his property there."

Did this man tell the truth ? We believe he did. Nearly all our information confirms his representations. There is neither fraternity nor fellowship for the Northern man, in any sense of the word, on the part of the dominant classes in the South. The lessons of the war are not yet adequately learned.

We entertain no malice. We have, we trust, sympathy for the suffering. We do not desire the people of the South should starve. But we are willing, quite willing, they should learn what costly food pride requires. We believe the lesson will prove a wholesome one. And it is imperative it should be learned well before there can be established in the rebellious States a respect for law and order that will protect men in the free expression of their opinions, or secure justice and equity between them.—*Chicago Republican.*

RECONSTRUCTION.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS ON THE MILITARY BILL.

From the Richmond Times.

CALM, temperate, sagacious executive and legislative action, at this time, may save us from any permanent injury from the vetoed act. But the desired advantages cannot be gained by supineness and inaction. In all ages and countries the haughtiest and most high-toned people, when defeated in battle and forced at the point of the bayonet to accept merciless and inhuman terms, have in no way stained their reputation by taking such measures as have best secured their lives and property from the fury of their conquerors.

From the Richmond Whig.

The only question we are privileged to determine is, whether the present constituted authorities will take charge of the machinery and work it to the best possible advantage for the public, or leave it in the hands of unknown adventurers or well-known knaves, who may saddle us with a despotism after the model of Brownlow.

From the Richmond Enquirer.

The Supreme Court has unanimously voted that such a law is wholly inadmissible. Majority and minority on other points, concurred in declaring that martial law in time of peace is impossible. Let us make haste to appeal to that court. Let us do so ere we are all bucked and gagged.

From the Mobile Advertiser and Register.

The men who, were Yancey alive to-day, would send him to the scaffold as a Union-breaker, have themselves completed and perpetuated the work he only began. There is no more American Union. It died with the Constitution, which was the life of its body. Yancey is triumphant. He struck the blow to end what Washington began, and the Radicals are but the inevitable links in the chain of sequence and destiny which he forged.

From the Tallahassee Floridian.

We think the executives of the States owe it to the people and to the best interests of society to leave no efforts unturned to bring the matter before the judiciary. If failure shall attend us there, we must then meet our troubles with a brave heart, leaving the issue to Him who maketh the wrath of man to praise him.

From the Louisville (Ky.) Courier.

Let the South, therefore, stand firm, submitting to what it cannot help, but not aiding in any way in dishonoring itself, or in bedaubing its fair escutcheon.

From the Jacksonville (Fla.) Union.

Let us then, by peaceful and earnest measures, take active steps to arouse, if possible, the friends of good and honest and constitutional government, to a sense of the fatal course upon which the revolutionists in their midst are rushing their own as well as Southern liberties.

From the Montgomery (Ala.) Mail.

Let the people be quiet, and let the Governors of the South who represent them meet in council and cast about for some concerted plan of testing immediately the constitutional validity of this shameful and vindictive act of legislation. We are satisfied that it will prove successful ; and, if so, country, the Constitution, liberty, honor, all are safe ; and if it should fail, we shall be in no worse condition than we are now.

From the Norfolk Virginian.

In 1860 Virginia cast 165,000 votes, and it is asserted that she could poll to-day 110,000, after allowing 5 per cent., which is the Governor's estimate, for disfranchised classes. With this power still left to us, we repeat, it is the duty of our people to rouse from their apathy, and, when our charter elections come, with the concomitants forced upon us by this bill, we should be found, every man of us, ready, in a temperate and discreet manner, to use the only means left to preserve our municipal governments from the pollution with which they are threatened by the political Dalghettys who have recently mustered under the Sherman bill.

From the Columbus (Ga.) Sun.

We say, submit to what cannot be averted ; but take no part in the attempt to fix upon ourselves everlasting disgrace and degradation.

From the Baltimore Sun.

To call this bill, then, a measure which tends to the restoration of the Union, or which holds out a hope of restoration is to miscall opposites—to liken destruction to creation, injustice to justice, tyranny to right, proscription and persecution to brotherly love.

From the Macon (Ga.) New Era.

The only good reason for not appealing to arms in this conjuncture, is the hopelessness of success.

From the Memphis Bulletin.

However it be, the Southern people must manfully endure, and be able to say that which Francis I. wrote to his mother after the disastrous battle of Pavia—"*All is lost except honor.*"

From the Atlanta (Ga.) Daily Opinion.

Let us learn one lesson—the course of Abolitionism has been onward, day by day, ever since the government was formed, and in no single year has it made greater strides than in the one last past. To our mind it has long been plain, that if we did not vote the negro, *they* would.

From the Central Georgian.

Hard as our fate seems to be, we can only counsel forbearance and moderation, until such a time when a return of a sense of justice in our oppressors, may prompt them to repair the wrong they are now inflicting upon us.

From the Memphis (Tenn.) Avalanche.

The man among us who favors this Military bill is an enemy to the people among whom he lives, and the man who recognizes or encourages its advocates with his patronage or his smile, is no better than the Radical scoundrels who are seeking to rob us of liberty, and to make us the abject slaves of the most unprincipled tyrants that ever disgraced the earth.

From the Wilmington (N. C.) Dispatch.

What, then, shall we do ? We must do nothing. We must get so that we will not care a continental whether school keeps or not.

From the Charleston (S. C.) Mercury.

In our judgment, any military rigor—any coerced submission to any terms—is preferable to the voluntary debasement and infamy, and the permanent, irretrievable ruin the Southern States will incur by adopting the terms of this bill.

From the Charlottesville (Va.) Chronicle.

We are very far from despair, black as the prospect is. The immediate aim of our State should be to get back in the Union as quickly as possible. There we shall be measurably, at least, shielded from the Radical storm. If we stay out much longer, we shall have confiscation added to negro suffrage. There we have at least reached *a resting place.* There we can get control of our State affairs—there we can make *another State Constitution.*

From the Louisville (Ky.) Journal.

The people of the South, if wise and prudent, can live for a time under such a damnable tyranny as this ; but if they consent to it, they deserve it. They don't deserve it, and they will never consent to it. They would sooner see their beautiful clime whelmed beneath a second Dead Sea.

From the New Orleans Bee.

The situation is different now from what it was when the Constitutional Amendment was proposed. Then the South was asked to assist in making the change ; now she has to submit to the laws that are made for her by the party in power.

From the Wilmington (N. C.) Dispatch.

There is but little doubt that the Southern States will make haste to fulfil the requirements of the Sherman bill in the event that it shall become a law ; and that they will do all they can speedily to rid themselves of the military surveillance to which they will be reduced under the operation of that scheme. *This will be done with the hope that many of the disqualifications which will be resultant, may be avoided,* and that the peace for which they have so ardently longed may be enjoyed. But whatever the motive, there is left no room to doubt that prompt action will be taken to avail themselves of all the benefits to be derived by a surrender of opposition to the purposes of the Radicals who wield the power of the Federal government.

From the Mobile (Ala.) Advertiser and Register.

Nor does it make the slightest difference whether the law is constitutional or otherwise. It will be a law of force to us, and there is neither power nor inclination to resist it. But here it is upon us, and now the question is, what are we to do about it and how bear the trial ? We are disposed to take it coolly, and in the philosophic spirit that contemplates and endures the inevitable. And, after all, we do not lose much in the loss of that system of State self-government which has been far more shadowy than substantial since the close of the war. As for the rest, if the President is true to his policy and to the good feeling toward us which has marked his course, and will give us gentlemen and soldiers for our district commanders, instead of fanatics and Beast Butlers, we reckon we can live on until the vicious Radical carbuncle which has broken forth from the humors of the times upon the body politic, shall have ripened, bursted and vented its poison. It brings us, with one bound, so much nearer to the end.

From the Richmond Dispatch.

Let us try to prove ourselves great in misfortune. If haply we have any rights left, let us not forbear to exercise them in a judicious and intelligent manner. Let us not shrink any responsibility which the crisis demands. If we could be excused for giving away to despondence so far as concerns ourselves individually, we have no right to compromise our posterity. The day is not distant when there must be a change ; and as it cannot be for the worse, there is much reason to hope and believe that it may be for the better, and the country may yet be disenthralled.

From the Richmond Examiner.

Whether the infamous act of Congress shall in any form be recognized by you, and what you shall elect to do about it, are questions vastly too important for the decision of a body elected two years ago to make your laws. Let them prepare to submit, at as early a day as possible, to the people of Virginia the question, whether or not they will hold a Convention, and let them authorize the Governor, in the event of an affirmative answer to that inquiry, to make the necessary proclamation. The time is ample. The term of the present Governor does not expire until the 1st of January, 1868. It is probable that it may suit the pleasure of the General commanding this Department to continue the existing forms of government,

postpone. By this means the people will be enabled deliberately to assume the responsibility of action in the emergency—a responsibility too profound and momentous to rest on narrow foundations.

From the Petersburg Dispatch.

To decline to act brings in view consequences which are fraught with peril—to act is to drink to the dregs one of the bitterest cups ever concocted by ingenuity and vindictiveness.

From the Lynchburg Virginian.

One thing is certain, in our judgment; and that is, that we cannot rely upon the conservative (so-called) people of the North. They seem to be demoralized, and content themselves simply with tame protests against the usurpations and outrages of Congress. Neither can we cite, with any effect, the decisions of the Supreme Court. That body is now supporting the Constitution, but how long it will be found in accord therewith depends upon the little of life that remains to one infirm old man who must soon sink into the grave. The Court will then be equally divided, and its decisions upon all political questions be neutralized. But, if it were even otherwise, it commands no respect.

From Col. Doster of the Alabama Legislature.

I regard it as certain that this bill will very soon become the law of the country, and within one month a Federal officer will have in operation the machinery of martial law in Alabama. My opinion is, that under the operation of this bill the present State government of Alabama will continue as a provisional government, but will be subordinated to the military. The statutes of Alabama now recognized as law by the State authorities, including the acts of the Legislature passed during the session just closed, will doubtless be executed by the officers of the present State government. I regard it as highly probable that the military commandant will interfere as little as practicable with the present machinery of State government. I think that the present incumbents of the State and county offices will be permitted to continue the discharge of their official duties, whether they are disqualified from holding office by the third section of the Howard Amendment or not. The local civil tribunals will continue to dispose of questions involving criminal and civil jurisdiction as heretofore, except in those cases where they fail or refuse to execute the laws, or where there is a palpable departure from the principles of impartial justice. The intensity of the rigors and asperities of martial law will depend upon our own conduct.

From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle.

We will not insult the people of Georgia by asking them to open their mouths and take into their bowels the abomination contained in the last pill compounded by the political quacks at Washington. If our people were mean enough to bid for representation on such debasing conditions, they have no guarantee that additional degrading terms will not be exacted. We are called on to deliver up to outlawry and political martyrdom the best and purest men in the South, and to send to Congress creatures who can take the test oath, and swear that they set their faces against our people in the day of trial. This would be placing the brand of infamy on our own brows. Military despotism, or any other rule, would be preferable to such an alternative as that presented in the Sherman bill. If degradation and torture are in store for us, let not our people voluntarily aid in the infliction; but let the shame of such a monstrous iniquity fall upon its instigators and authors.

From the Augusta (Ga.) Constitutionalist.

There is, as far as the North is concerned, no question of consent at all. Demands are made and no option is given worthy of independent minds. We can acquiesce, silently, because powerless to defy; but to nullify ourselves by organizing affirmation of disgrace, is at once a folly and a crime. Because we have cheated ourselves once, it is no argument to repeat the deception. On the contrary, it is the very studiest reason why we should stand aloof from self-betrayal, which can bring us no honor, and, depending on a string of Congressional "ifs," may bring us no profit.

From the Columbus (Ga.) Sun.

We are clearly of the opinion that it is moral suicide in the people of the South to change front at this time. While it is true that the Military bill proposes to impose upon us the humiliation which Gov. Brown advises us to impose upon ourselves, it is yet a question if the outrage can be successfully perpetrated. The fight is not yet over, and it is rank treason in us to desert the President before he has a chance to promulgate his veto, and before all legal and constitutional remedies have been exhausted to avert from us the destruction with which we are threatened.

From the Griffin (Ga.) Herald.

We look upon universal suffrage as one of the greatest calamities that could befall our country, and for the sake of all that is good, we trust the Southern people will not be partakers in the crime of bringing it about.

From the Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer.

Why should we yet despair of a favorable reaction in Northern sentiment, when no popular indications whatever have yet been given of the acceptability of the harsh measures proposed for our government—when elections are just about to come off that will afford a better understanding of the feeling of the Northern people? Why not continue in the unmolested enjoyment, vouchsafed to us for a brief period, of the State (or "provisional") government of our own choosing?

From the Rome (Ga.) Courier.

If the victors demand nothing more than they have a right to claim, or the subdued can honorably yield, then comply with good grace and promptly. But if it is wrong for the South to accept this proposition, then let her not voluntarily disgrace herself under the threat that her property will be pillaged unless she does it. It may be better that the commercial interests of the South should suffer a little longer rather than that her people should endure a shameful mortification through all coming time—by their own act. But, as we said above, it is a grave question, and the people should lay aside all prejudice, and give the subject a thorough investigation and deliberate decision, in all candor and honesty.

From the New Orleans Crescent.

We impress upon our readers the salient and remarkable fact, that the measure makes absolutely no provision for effecting the objects which it ostensibly contemplates. If the real design had been to accomplish a restoration of the Union, some machinery would have been provided by means of which the Southern States would have been "rehabilitated." The time of restoration would not have been indefinitely postponed by leaving the initiatory movements optional with the people of the Southern States. In fact this measure rivals the Constitutional Amendment as an inefficient project, and equals it as a dilatory expedient.

We do not think that there is any occasion for alarm, much less for despair, as to our situation and prospects. So long as the State governments retain their functions, the people of the South can endure the evils of their compulsory disseverance from the Union quite as well as they have borne it up to this time. They will, of course, decline to reorganize their respective political communities under the provisions of this act. Whatever views they may entertain as to the propriety or expediency of adopting a new rule of suffrage, they are quite agreed as to the impropriety and inexpediency of conforming to any rule imposed on them as a condition precedent to the exercise of their constitutional rights. For precisely this reason they declined to accept the Constitutional Amendment, and, as long as the liberty of choice is left to them, they will decline any similar sacrifice of their integrity and their honor. If the Republican party can bear up against the odium and the responsibility of a continued severance of the Union, it is not for the people of the South to help them out of their difficulties by allying themselves with their projects. We would, therefore, advise our people to remain perfectly calm and fearless, and to proceed, in all public and private matters, just as if no Military government bill had ever passed Congress.

From the Richmond Examiner.

In this, the crisis of our fate, let us stand together. Let there be no wrangling, no impugning of motives, no want of charity, no refusal of justice. If we differ, let us endeavor to persuade—never to ridicule or intimidate; and when action is determined on, let that determination be a concession to every honest conviction, or even prejudice, that can honorably and wisely be consulted. When, finally, the conclusion is reached, let all sustain it, and we shall survive the storm of fanatical tyranny which assails us, and preserve enough of freedom on which to build, in the new form of government that approaches. Such infamous madness cannot last always. Some great financial or political calamity will scourge our enemies into justice, or the idol of irresponsible power, which they are now worshipping, will fall on them and crush them. Meanwhile, let all the people draw more closely to each other, and join hands for the work that is here, and for that future work to which we shall be called.

From the Richmond Whig.

The sooner we eat our peck of dirt, the sooner we shall feel refreshed.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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THE SITUATION.

THE XLth Congress proceeds to business without the benefit of any formal communication from the President as to "the state of the country." We hoped it would accept no message from him, but it is only because he would not send one that it does not. The usual committees were sent to him, and though this Congress meets in the most important crisis in our national history, the President has nothing to communicate or suggest. A Washington dispatch to the *Herald* says:

"The reply of the President to the Committees who waited upon him, to inform him of the organization of the two houses, 'that he had no communication to make to them at this time,' is regarded as significant of his intended action in the event of an immediate impeachment prosecution. It is stated on excellent authority that he will decline to appear before the Senate upon an arraignment, assigning as a reason that the present body, representing fully only twenty States, cannot legally entertain the question. This anticipates a collision between the Executive and Congress that members of the latter already talk of providing against."

If a reason for impeachment is asked, the explanation of the meeting of Congress at this time, not called together in extra session, is sufficient answer. Who supposes that but for the consciousness of having a traitor in the Executive chair there would have been the present change in the time for the assembling of Congress? The fact of the necessity of meeting under such extraordinary circumstances is abundant justification for proceeding with the impeachment, and consummating the deposition of the usurping President before a recess or adjournment.

The subject has received attention in the House of Representatives, and is again delegated to the Judiciary Committee. Gen. Butler made an ineffectual attempt to get a special committee of thirteen to take the work in hand. There is a strong inclination unquestionably with many Republicans in the House, and a large majority in the Senate, to put off, and if possible to avoid altogether, definite action. No greater mistake could be made. We hope no adjournment will be permitted without a report from the Committee. If it is not voluntarily made at an early day it should be called for by special resolution. Enough is certainly known of Johnson's unwarrantable usurpation of power in the creation of his so-called "State governments," his treasonable espousal of the cause of the rebellious class of the South and cruel abandonment of loyalists, both white and black, leaving out of view all minor charges and specifications, to warrant and call for immediate action. This question should take precedence over all others pertaining to reconstruction. The military law, however supplemented, will be but a delusion and a snare, with a rebel usurper for a Commander-in-Chief. Until impeached, Johnson "sits enthroned in the interest of rebellion," and will continue to be master of the situation.

A supplementary reconstruction bill, a synopsis of which we give elsewhere, has passed the House by a decisive majority. It adds no new conditions of value. We stated our objections to the law last week. The excellent propositions introduced in the Senate by Mr. Sumner, would, if adopted, remove some of them. Mr. Sumner's resolutions, however, were supported by but a feeble minority of the Senate. We are destined to wait yet longer ere the "ballot, education, and land," can be vouchsafed to the negro. How far the rebellious class of the South will participate in the reorganization contemplated by military rule is not yet apparent. It is not unlikely, admonished by the New Hampshire election, and the general tone of Northern opinion, that, in following the lead of Johnson they may "go farther and fare worse," they may elect to make the most of the situation and reap the advantages that are left to them. The number now disfranchised is insignificantly small. The *Evening Post*, in an appeal "to reasoning men in the South," says: "The men excluded under the Constitutional Amendment do not number in the whole Southern States over twenty thousand, among five millions of [white] people." This it will be seen diminishes but very slightly the Southern white vote. Nor is there any provision for the continuance of the negro vote, once the admission of a Southern State is secured, and its sovereignty again recognized. The *Herald*, ambitious still to serve its whilom friends, the ruling whites of the South, significantly says:

"As for the ten excluded States, their leading and managing politicians will do well to remember that with their restoration to Congress, and with the ratification of the pending Constitutional Amendment and its proclamation as part of the supreme law of the land, all conflicting laws of Congress will be superseded, and every State will thus be left to decide for itself whether it will exclude the negro vote, and lose the negro population in counting the people for representation in Congress, or whether it will continue negro suffrage in order to count the negroes for representation."

The North has no right to abandon to such a risk the blacks who were its best friends in the darkest hours of trial and danger. The only safe and suitable guarantee is another Constitutional Amendment which shall provide for universal suffrage. This, and the IMPEACHMENT AND DEPOSITION OF ANDREW JOHNSON we urgently demand of the XLth Congress before it shall take a recess or adjourn.

OUR legislators at Albany still leave the State Convention for a revision of the Constitution unprovided for. Do they intend to pass it by altogether? We again urge them to make it, as they are fully competent to do, a truly representative Convention, by enacting that colored men who do not own two hundred and fifty dollars' worth of real-estate, and women, may vote for delegates, and, if electors choose, be selected as delegates. Such action on their part *now* would be half the battle gained for the right kind of a revision. Do not longer delay action, or in legislating ignore the rights of the unrepresented classes.

ADDITIONAL GUARANTIES.

MR. SUMNER, on Thursday, the 7th inst., introduced resolutions declaring certain further guaranties required in the reconstruction of the rebel States. They declare that among the things remaining to be done are the five following:

First, The existing governments which have been declared to be illegal must be vacated so that they can have no agency in the work of reconstruction and will cease to exercise a pernicious interference.

Secondly, Provisional governments must be constituted as temporary substitutes for the illegal governments with special authority to superintend the transition to permanent governments Republican in form.

Thirdly, As loyalty beyond suspicion must be the basis of permanent governments republican in form, every possible precaution must be taken against rebel agency, or influence in the formation of those governments.

Fourthly, As the education of the people is essential to the national welfare, especially to the development of those principles of justice and morality which constitute the foundation of Republican government, and as according to the census an immense proportion of the people in the rebel States without distinction of color cannot read and write, therefore public schools must be established for the equal good of all.

Fifthly, Not less important than education is the homestead, which must be secured to the freedman, so that at least every head of a family may have a piece of land.

These proposed additional guaranties are excellent in themselves, and if adopted would go far towards supplying the numerous defects of the present Military Reconstruction law. The Senate is in no mood, however, for anything covering so much that is valuable and important, and therefore on Monday last voted to table the resolutions. Doughfaces and "Conservatives" are everywhere delighted that Mr. Sumner's propositions were so decisively defeated. The *Times* is particularly and very naturally gratified. It says:

"Mr. Sumner's fate should be a warning to gentlemen who confound crotchets with convictions, and mistake the gratification of resentments for the promotion of a patriotic policy. It may be well enough in ordinary times to trot out favorite theories, and to woo the fame of statesmanship by the advocacy of pet projects. But the reconstruction of the Union is a task too grave to be trifled with. [!] The reorganization of civil government in ten States is not a matter that the country can afford to jeopardize to gratify a morbid and an impracticable humanitarianism. [!] It is not necessary now a days to test the willingness of the American people to provide for the necessities of the emancipated slaves. The Civil Rights act and the Freedmen's Bureau attest the purpose of Congress to do all that is essential for their protection against wrong and want, pending the readjustment of Southern labor and society. To go beyond this point, as Mr. Sumner proposed—to guarantee not merely provision for immediate requirements, but education and homesteads—would be to substitute a bastard socialism for the plain duties of a Democratic government. And to bring forward these and kindred schemes, in season and out of season, as conditions to be complied with by the South, would be to delay reconstruction indefinitely. The Senate acted wisely, therefore, in snubbing Mr. Sumner by the decisive vote of 36 to 10. The wholesomeness of the vote will not be confined to the Massachusetts Senator. It will operate as a warning to the restless spirits who would undo on one day the work of the previous day, and so render impossible all practical legislation.

The ground upon which the Senate based its action will not be overlooked, we trust, by those who honestly desire the settlement of existing difficulties. It affords us no further room for the imputations upon the good faith of Congress which have served the purpose of demagogues, North and South. Mr. Reverdy Johnson's interpretation of the compact implied in the enactment of the Sherman plan is corroborated by Messrs. Sherman, Frelinghuysen, and the other Republicans who spoke. They stated distinctly that the recently-enacted law covers all the conditions which Congress is disposed to exact—that it is the plan upon which reconstruction will proceed—that it will be adhered to in all its parts as the final will of Congress on the subject."

The *Times* has before this denounced "impracticable humanitarianism," but to little purpose. At no very distant period it will be enlarging upon these very guarantees, showing their wisdom and excellence, when their adoption becomes, as will ultimately be the case, a foregone conclusion. Thus has it treated successively all the important questions which have come up for consideration, and been disposed of. It is, however, too good an exponent of the character of too many Senators and half-hearted Republicans.

Mr. Sumner is, as hitherto, a marked man in the Senate. If not now likely to be murderously assaulted, as by the South Carolina ruffian, he is subjected to treatment by American Senators which is characterized by a disgraceful rudeness and vulgarity such as the members of no other national deliberative body in the world would presume to exhibit. His resolutions were again called up on Tuesday morning last, and debated by Messrs. Morton and Howe. Subsequently Mr. Trumbull moved an executive session.

As illustrating the rudeness shown to Mr. Sumner, we quote the following passage from the Senate proceedings:

Mr. Trumbull moved an executive session.

Mr. Sumner hoped not. He wished to say a few words on the subject before the Senate.

Mr. Trumbull said that this would lead to an interminable discussion.

Mr. Sumner said he could say what he had to say on the motion to go into executive session.

He was proceeding to congratulate Mr. Morton on his speech, when he was called to order by Mr. Fessenden, who said congratulations to Mr. Morton were not pertinent to the question of going into executive session.

Mr. Sumner—I understand the rules of the Senate.

Mr. Fessenden—O, yes, you understand everything, but some of the rest of us have rights here as well as you.

Mr. Sumner said he was not arguing on his resolution, and did not mean to do so at this time.

Mr. Fessenden—No, you cannot dignify it with the name of argument, but you were beginning to talk, nevertheless.

Mr. Sumner said he believed he was in order in stating on a question of going into executive session why the Senate should remain in open session.

Mr. Fessenden—O, yes, you are always in order.

Mr. Sumner then said he would not proceed with his remarks just now; but when the Supplementary Reconstruction bill came up, he should move to amend it by providing that education shall be secured to all alike in the rebel States, and on that he should address the Senate.

If Mr. Fessenden does not apologize to Mr. Sumner, the Senate, and the country, for his disgraceful exhibition of ill-temper, and acknowledge himself heartily ashamed of it, he at least ought to do so.

The additional guaranties called for by Mr. Sumner's resolutions are demanded by the radical sentiment of the nation, and, sooner or later, they will be attained.

THE Philadelphia *Press* says:

"Southern journals, in discussing the Reconstruction bill, make no attempt to conceal their disposition to fight against its provisions if they had power to make a decent resistance. They confess, however, that this is now out of the question. The men who hold office under the provisional governments submit to the Union in any shape or form as a matter of necessity—not of choice; and a peaceful and thorough Union can never be completed until a portion of the local power of the South is vested in the hands of the sincere friends of the nation, and State organizations cease to be used for the oppression of loyalty and exaltation of treason."

IN the Senate, Thursday, March 7, a resolution to amend the Constitution so as to prevent States from prohibiting persons from voting on account of color was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

THE SUPPLEMENTAL RECONSTRUCTION BILL.

MR. WILSON'S Supplemental Reconstruction bill, as passed by the House of Representatives, directs the commanding general in each district to cause to be made, before the 1st of September next, a registration in each county or parish of the male citizens of the United States over twenty-one years of age resident in each county or parish, which registration shall include only those persons who are qualified to vote for delegates by the act of the 2d of March, and who shall have taken and subscribed an oath that they are sincerely and earnestly attached to the Union and government of the United States; that they will steadfastly support the Constitution and obey the laws of the United States, and that they will urge all others to such support and obedience. When such registration shall have been completed and copies thereof returned to the commanding general, the general commanding shall, within thirty days thereafter, cause an election to be held for delegates to form State constitutions, to re-establish civil governments loyal to the Union therein, and to pass all needful ordinances for putting such constitutions and governments into operation. The constitution is to be adopted by a majority of the registered voters, and, on its approval by Congress, Senators and Representatives are to be admitted from such State.

Passed by a decisive party vote, there is little doubt that this Supplemental Reconstruction bill, substantially in its present shape, will become a law over the President's inevitable veto. Without differing as to conditions from the law already passed, it simply supplies certain details as to reorganization under it.

OUR PREMIUMS.

SEVERAL parties are competing for the $100 U. S. Bond, generously donated as a premium by an earnest and influential friend of THE STANDARD. Of course it would not be proper for us to state who leads the list in competition. There is still time, between this and the first of July, for new canvassers to catch up, and take the lead and the premium at the end. The bond has six per cent. interest-bearing coupons attached, payable in gold. The one who, on the 1st day of July, is credited with the *largest* number of new subscribers, will receive the premium. All are authorized to retain seventy-five cents commission, each subscriber, who are canvassing for the bond. It is a fine opportunity for some of our young anti-slavery friends to serve both the cause and themselves.

We are also sending out a considerable number of WENDELL PHILLIPS'S SPEECHES AND LECTURES, as a premium to persons renewing subscriptions and sending one new subscriber, or two new subscribers. It is a large book, five hundred and sixty-two pages, contains a steel portrait of Mr. Phillips which thousands of people would be glad to possess, with some of the best speeches and lectures of the most gifted and eloquent orator in America. We have arrangements with the publishers for a liberal supply, and we suggest to our readers everywhere to improve this rare opportunity to make a most desirable addition to their libraries, and at the same time aid by the slight effort requisite in extending the circulation and usefulness of THE STANDARD.

REV JOHN W. CHADWICK, of Brooklyn, the young, talented and radical pastor of the Second Unitarian Church (formerly Mr. LONGFELLOW'S), will be among the new speakers who will address the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be held at Steinway Hall on Tuesday, May 7th.

WE invite the attention of our readers to the action of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, with reference to discouraging slavery in Cuba and elsewhere, by prohibiting the importation of sugar, etc., produced by slave labor, alluded to in our Philadelphia correspondence. It is a subject worthy of careful consideration.

THE Rondout (N. Y.) *Freeman*, one of the best-edited journals in the valley of the Hudson, in speaking of the State Constitutional Convention, says:

"The Legislature has strangely delayed the calling of the Constitutional Convention. Some of the members are opposed to holding any Convention at all, notwithstanding the emphatic vote in its favor cast by the people at the late election.

The Assembly has refused to give negroes a voice in the election of delegates. This comes with a bad grace from a Republican Legislature, of whom we could expect better things. Some of the members who voted against allowing negroes the privilege to vote for delegates are in favor of insisting that the South shall give the ballot to the blacks, which is not consistent to say the least.

It is probable that the election for this Convention will be appointed for some time in April, and the Convention will be held in June. We hope to see that body do away with all class distinctions and let men and women, white and black, stand on an equal footing before the law, under equal responsibility for the government, and having an equal voice in the elections. This will not only be doing justice but will better political affairs, by the introduction of a purer element into our politics."

THE Washington correspondent of the Boston *Commonwealth*, writing of impeachment, says:

"I believe there is no error when I say that a majority of that committee are convinced that even now there is evidence sufficient to impeach the acting President. Whether the impeachment shall proceed at once or not is now the pending question. It is believed that many members, and even a portion of the Judiciary Committee, are in favor of having the investigation ordered, while Congress takes a recess until October. The new men will not generally consent to this, nor will a majority of the Western members. All who are not made timid or hesitating from financial interests are for pushing on the investigation."

PERSONAL.

George B. Jones, a colored man, was elected one of the constables of Blackstone, Mass., on Monday.

John M. Thayer and Thomas W. Tipton are the Senators from the new State of Nebraska, who took their seats on Monday. Both voted with Mr. Sumner in favor of additional guarantees in reconstruction.

William H. Furness, widely known as an artist, died quite suddenly at his residence, in Boston, on Tuesday morning last. He was the son of Rev. Dr. Furness, of Philadelphia.

John Russell Young, Esq., managing editor of the *Tribune*, who has been absent several weeks in Florida, has returned and is, we are glad to learn, much improved in health.

W. W. Broom, Esq., has removed from this city to Philadelphia. He is henceforth to be connected with the Philadelphia *Tribune*. He has recently lectured several times in Philadelphia, and is to lecture soon in Baltimore, Annapolis, and Washington.

Rev. Dr. Chaplin, of the Baptist Training School for Colored Preachers, says in a late report:

"The Catholics have imported SIXTY PRIESTS into the State of Louisiana to *educate* the blacks. This looks like work. These sixty act in concert; move together like one man; one man trained and armed for service. The council at Baltimore adopted the programme sent from Rome, and have already embodied their resolution in living men."

Susan B. Anthony, in a private note, dated Albany, N. Y., March 12, says:

"This morning brings a letter from one of the prominent men of Kansas—a State Senator—urging that we send out several of our most efficient speakers to canvass that State during the coming two months. They have called a State Equal Rights Convention at Topeka, Tuesday, April 2d. He feels sure both the propositions to strike out "white" and "male" may be carried at their next election, if only so little aid can be given. What we need is MONEY. Would that the friends who see the need of reloying our governments, State and National, on equal rights, might also see that to send out preachers to educate the people to do the work, requires something more than "*best wishes.*" We need ten thousand dollars to enable us to do the work that wait us now in this State, Michigan, and Kansas. Will it be forthcoming?"

Dr. David Livingstone, the African explorer, has been murdered by the Kaffirs. Dr. Livingstone, says the *Independent*, was a native of Scotland, born in 1817. In early life he was a cotton-spinner, but afterward studied medicine and theology, and fitted himself for the career of a missionary. In 1838 the London Missionary Society accepted the offer of his services, and assigned him to duty on the west coast of Africa, where he arrived in the Summer of 1840. During the ensuing sixteen years he labored at various missionary stations in Africa, making occasional scientific journeys into the interior of the country, and adding valuable contributions to geography and natural history, which obtained for him, in 1855, the honor of the Victoria Gold Medal from the Royal Geographical Society. After a successful journey across Southern Africa, he returned to England in 1856, and published his first volume on African travel. In 1858 he resumed his explorations, and in November, 1865, published his last work in England, under the title of a "Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries, and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa." He was a man of large resources and untiring energy, and his contributions to geographical knowledge and general science are of the greatest value. Aside from his labors as an explorer, his services as a missionary were of no common order.

Mrs. Ella Davis Rockwood gave her lecture, "A Yankee Girl's Thoughts," to a large and attentive audience, at School House Hall, Natick, Mass., on Wednesday evening, March 6th. A correspondent says: "The lecture evinced earnest thought upon the subjects on which she spoke—Intemperance, our duties to the Freedman, and Woman's Social and Political Rights. We were surprised that one so young, a *woman* too, should have dared to speak so bravely and boldly. Mrs. R. labored under peculiar difficulties, as she was addressing for the first time her own town's-people and early companions, who seemed astonished that the school girl of yesterday had grown into the plain outspoken woman of to-day.

"Mrs. R. is very prepossessing in appearance, but of slight and delicate structure, and possesses an energy and will that will force her into the front rank of our reformatory lecturers." In announcing this lecture, the Natick *Times* spoke of Mrs. R. as follows:

Mrs. Rockwood has lived in Natick since her childhood. Her sudden marked success as a lecturer in temperance meetings and on the Lyceum platform has been no surprise here, where her energy and ability were well known. Nowhere has her success been hailed with more cordial satisfaction than here in her home. After speaking to full houses, many times a week, for the last fifteen months, in different parts of New England and New York, she has been invited to address her neighbors, and will do so on the sixth of March next, in School House Hall. We are sure she will have a crowded welcome. The lecture, "A Yankee Girl's Thoughts," has won high reputation as thoughtful, well reasoned and eloquent. We can easily believe it; for Mrs. Rockwood, though so young, has had a varied experience, and was always an original thinker. If Watertown is proud of its Harriet Hosmer; if Philadelphia always gives its Anna Dickinson the largest audiences she ever addresses; Natick, we are sure, will show its young and popular lecturer that she has the heartiest welcome and most enthusiastic recognition here, from her life-long neighbors.

Theodore Tilton has returned to this city from his extended lecturing tour at the West, after ten thousand miles of travel, having delivered seventy lectures. In this week's *Independent*, writing of the present Congress and its immediate duty, he says:

"Its first great duty is the impeachment of the President.

"Be it spoken as the will of the loyal North that the XLth Congress is charged with the solemn duty of removing a traitor from the chief magistracy of the Republic. Nothing on the docket ought to take precedence of this business. The chief mischief-maker in the nation must be cut short in his career of crime. Andrew Johnson is now a greater obstacle to the reconstruction of the Union than either Robert Lee or Jefferson Davis. These men are rebels out of office; but Andrew Johnson is a rebel in the highest of offices. Daily is he executing the will of these two men, instead of the will of the loyal people who made him President. To govern the South by the army, while Andrew Johnson is the head of the army, is a mockery. If the military plan of Congress is to succeed, the army must have a new master-spirit. The impeachment of the President is the first necessity of the situation. With a Supreme Court loyal one day and disloyal the next, and with an Executive disloyal all days alike, Congress will count only one against two in the game of governing the South. It must make success certain by grinding the Executive to fine dust in the Senate, and blowing him away with the breath of a judicial sentence by the Chief-Justice.

"The country would cheer to the echo the dismissal of Andrew Johnson to the harmlessness of private life. I saw no audience all Winter that did not applaud the impeachment of the President. Western men, familiar with the President's speeches, are in the habit of saying that Andrew Johnson should now 'take a back seat.'

"Nor let the XLth Congress imitate the XXXIXth in the bad example of waiting two years, and tardily doing its duty with its expiring breath. Two years hence the President will fall off like a withered leaf. What we want is that he should be *shaken* off now. A Congress to which he disdains to send a message may, before the two years are ended, find him denying its jurisdiction and arresting its members. Andrew Johnson is to-day the chief enemy of the Republic: let him be removed!"

THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Not observing any movement indicative of a response favorable to the invitation to the American Anti-Slavery Society to be represented at the "International Anti-Slavery Conference," to be held in Paris, in June next, I would suggest for the consideration of the Executive Committee, the necessity of our being represented in that Convention. The American Anti-Slavery Society is the only legitimately authorized exponent of the colored race, in this country, and can speak for him as no other association can. To guard, therefore, against wrong impressions being made, as to the condition of the freedmen, and that the necessity for the continued existence of our anti-slavery organization (Emancipation Proclamations, Civil Rights bills, etc., to the contrary notwithstanding) is as imperatively the duty and obligation which civilization and humanity require at our hands, to secure freedom to the colored race to-day, as at the beginning of our anti-slavery labors. For, practically, the black man, throughout the South, and nearly so at the North, fulfils, as the victim race, the satanic sentiment, that he has no rights which the white man is bound to respect. Absolute justice, in the complete habilament of all that constitutes a freeman, is our pledged duty to the slave, and *short of it our work is not accomplished.* Therefore, we hold that the fitting representative to the Nation's Conference is to be delegated from the American Anti-Slavery Society. ROBERT PURVIS.

Byberry, Pa.

LECTURE BY GEN. SAXTON.

GEN. SAXTON lectured in Buffalo on the evening of the 4th inst. We find in the Buffalo *Express* the following account of the lecture:

Brigadier-Gen. Saxton delivered a lecture last evening, in the Colored Baptist Church on Michigan street. He commenced by alluding to the expedition which captured Port Royal early in the war, saying the only people they found were the so-called contrabands, who everywhere received them with demonstrations of joy. They had no fear of the Yankee, notwithstanding the efforts of their masters to shake their faith in the belief that the coming of the Yankees would burst their bonds. He gave an account of his labors as Quartermaster and Military Governor, and of the experiment with the free labor question during the years 1862 and '63, saying that besides producing large quantities of food they brought into the U. S. Treasury over $500,000. To one who knows the freedman, the question, will he work? or, can the rice and cotton fields of the South be cultivated by his labor? seems an idle one, as it is answered by existing facts. You may see passing along the docks of Charleston thousands of negroes at work with drays, carts, wheel-barrows,—in every conceivable occupation incident to a commercial dock. Go through the markets, a large proportion of the stalls are occupied by freedmen; pass along the streets, they are there with shovel and pickaxe, plane and chisel, building up the ruins made by our shells; ay, in sight of the broken and shattered monument of the great high priest of the South Carolina slaveholders—Calhoun—who thought that slavery was divine and secession right. His monument was broken by our shells, as if in mockery of the falsehoods of which he was the great apostle.

As to the assertion that the negro has no prudence, his own experience went to show that it was false. In October, 1864, the Freedman's South Carolina Saving's Bank was established, and in a little more than one year the freedmen had deposited two hundred and forty thousand dollars. Nor was the freedman wanting in public spirit, and his heart had been softened by adversity so that he would share his last loaf with a destitute relative or friend. Three thousand five hundred dollars had been collected by the freedmen, to erect a monument to the memory of Col. Shaw, who fell in the charge on Wagner, and the experience of thousands proves that the boasted hospitality of the South is not confined to the white race, but exists to an equal extent among the colored race. In regard to the promises of land made to the freedmen, he said: "Let not our government, that can live only in the hearts of its whole people, break its pledges to its most loyal subjects who have aided in bringing about the hour of its triumph." One of the most hopeful signs is the intense desire shown by the freedmen to achieve a little learning in the schools established by the benevolent societies of the North.

In conclusion, he said: "If we would gather the legitimate fruits of the war, the *old* South must be abolished, must be obliterated and a *new* South come into the place where it stood, beautiful with the beauty of Freedom—not an enemy of the North, but co-operating with it in forming one nation, where no man is master and no man is a slave; whose prosperity shall come from justice, and its fruits be peace, good will, and brotherhood."

The General was frequently interrupted with applause, and at the close of the address a vote of thanks was given him by the audience for the able and interesting manner in which he had addressed them.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, March 10th, 1867.

THE hearing before the Legislative Committee on the License question has been actively in progress all last week, as well as for a long time before it. They have just come to an end of the testimony of witnesses called by the petitioners for a license law, and expected to be favorable to that side. It was truly "a great cloud of witnesses," and now probably as many are to be called by the remonstrants, who will show plenty of Doctors in medicine and Doctors of Divinity on their side also, and renew the proverbial difficulty which disagreement of the learned makes for the unlearned. Of the ideas thus far expressed in regard to discouragement of the sale of intoxicating drinks, I liked best that of Rev. Dr. Peabody of Harvard University, who thought the most equitable legislation would be that which imposed on the vendors of spirituous liquors the whole cost of the crime and pauperism resulting from intemperance as far as that can be ascertained.

A fact intimately bearing upon this liquor question is that the increase in the consumption of spirituous drinks for a few years past has produced an increase of insanity. Dr. John E. Tyler, Superintendent of the McLean Insane Asylum, in his annual report, just issued from the press, makes the following painful statement:

"The excessive drinking of wines and ardent spirits has brought insanity upon many persons during the last year. This indulgence seems to be increasing very greatly, and its consequences are indeed alarming. More persons, and chiefly young men, either positively insane or who have been seriously damaged mentally and physically by this cause, have come under our professional observation, or have applied here for advice and relief during the last year than we can remember before in the same length of time."

About a year ago, a "Young Women's Christian Association" was established in this city, and its first annual meeting, called the "Young Women's Christian Convention," has just been held in the Old South Chapel. At the commencement of the enterprise, rooms were provided and a female superintendent placed there to receive applications from young women, and to furnish counsel, employment, boarding-places, and such other help as they might need. Since the opening of these rooms, the Secretary's report says, there has been a constant influx of visitors. The rooms are open every evening except Sunday for reading and social purposes, and a prayer-meeting, a Bible-class and a singing-class are held weekly for those who wish to join. Since October, more than a hundred calls for situations have been received, and homes have been provided for more than fifty. The managers are seeking now to raise $50,000 to provide a home, to be used as a temporary stopping-place by girls and young women in search of employment. The Association already numbers seven hundred members.

Under the title, "Record of Benevolence," a contemporary publishes two lists of considerable donations recently left by will, showing a marked difference of ideas as to the best use or money.

Mr. Isaac F. Curtis, of North Bridgewater, Mass., left bequests as follows: To the American Tract Society, $1,000; American Bible Society, $1,000; American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, $1,000; Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, $1,000; Porter Evangelical Society, North Bridgewater, $1,000.

Mr. Pascal P. Pope, of Boston, left bequests as follows: To the Boston Society of Natural History, $20,000; Temporary Home for the Destitute, $10,000; Boston Dispensary, $20,000; Sailors' Snug Harbor, $30,000; Howard Benevolent Society, $20,000; Boston Provident Association, $10,000; Home for Aged Men, $36,000; Harvard College, for a Professorship of the Latin Language and Literature, $50,000.

The custom of leaving money by will to institutions and objects favored by the donors, to an amount far beyond the sum left to the family or relatives of the deceased, is becoming very common, and shows, of course, enlarged ideas as to the claims fairly made upon a man's prosperity by others besides his relatives and friends. These bequests are usually lumped together as "benevolent," but in very many cases the word is misapplied. In the second of the cases above quoted, six of the eight bequests are truly benevolent, going to help the distressed and increase the sum of human happiness and welfare. In the other case, four of the five donations are mere helps to sectarian propagandism, tending far otherwise than to make men either happier or better. Their principal purpose manifestly is to increase the ascendency of the theological party with which the donor has identified himself.

A bronze group about two feet high has just appeared here, the work of Mr. Thomas Ball, a Boston sculptor of considerable merit, now absent, I believe, in Italy. This group was probably made in competition for acceptance as the Freedmen's Monument to Abraham Lincoln. Whether it arrived after the choice was made, or whether the Committee in charge preferred Miss Hosmer's model—heretofore described in your columns—to this, I know not. Other things being equal, a representation of President Lincoln doing the deed which the monument is to commemorate would seem greatly preferable to a view of his coffin. Yet to me Miss Hosmer's model was impressive, while this one is not so.

In Mr. Ball's work, Lincoln is erect, extending his right arm over a crouching black man, while his other hand rests on a shield bearing the stars and stripes, beneath which is the scroll decreeing emancipation. The negro seems about to rise from his crouching position, his cap bears the inscription "LIBERTY," and the chain which has heretofore connected the shackles on his wrists lies on the ground, broken. The group has the merit of distinctly telling its own story, and yet, to me it does not tell it impressively. The faces of both figures are serious, but not otherwise particularly expressive, and the gesture of Lincoln is vague and therefore feeble in character. The very imperfections of the group, however, as a work of art, have a historical correctness. The irons still remain on the negro's wrists; the "liberty" with which he is labelled is as yet more an inscription than a reality; the two figures do not look at each other, but in different directions; and the President is not speaking *to* the negro, but *of* him. If the act of emancipation had been as much inspired by hearty *love* of freedom and right as by "military necessity," every great sculptor in the world would have eagerly applied himself to the work of commemorating it

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, March 10, 1867.

THE Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, at its last regular meeting, considered our relation to the slave labor of other lands, and the wisdom of petitioning Congress to prohibit the importation of its products into the country. The following indicates the action of the Committee in relation thereto. The subject of imposing an exorbitant tariff on such productions was discussed, and reference made to some preliminary measures taken elsewhere concerning this phase of the question. But the committee deemed it to be more consistent with the high standard of sound anti-slavery principles, to ask that their importation cease, since any action of a conditional character involves an improper recognition of slavery abroad, and to a certain extent justifies its existence.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society petitions that you will prohibit the importation into the United States of Sugars and other articles of Foreign Commerce which are the products of slave labor.

We ask you to do this for the promotion of Human Liberty throughout the world, especially because we have reason to believe that one of the temporary effects of the recent rebellion in the United States, has been a great increase in importations of sugar from Cuba, where slavery exists in its most horrible form; and that by this increased traffic slavery in that island has received a powerful stimulus. (Signed) JAMES MOTT, President.
BENJ. C. BACON, Cor. Sec.
EDWARD M. DAVIS, Rec. Sec.

Is not this matter of sufficient importance for widely-extended action? It seems to deserve serious consideration. It comes home to the conscience of each one of us. It appeals directly to our enlightened reason concerning human liberty, and we cannot honestly shrink from the responsibility it imposes. Triumphant liberty in the United States should not be a cause, directly or indirectly, for greater prosperity of slave interests in other lands. Such a result is unfortunate and deplorable. To be instrumental in promoting the growth and reinforcing the strength of human bondage in Cuba, seems like a great crime that should enlist all our powers to secure a remedy. Is there a better course than the one indicated above? A grand national endeavor in that direction would have a powerful effect, and its accomplishment would create more serious detriment to slavery abroad than any other practicable action. It would send dismay to the slave-owners, and be effectual as an example to other free countries, which afford a market for their produce. The nation should be awakened to a consciousness of the great importance of this subject, its bearing upon the vast interests of freedom, and the good that may flow from earnest action based upon just principles.

The mind of the true Abolitionist will quickly discern the nature of this question, and his paramount duty in regard thereto. We have no right to nurture the cruel system of a horrible servitude by sweetening our coffee with its chief product. It is a plain act of complicity, and to keep clean hands and clear consciences, renders it necessary that a determined step be taken to forbid its importation. Let us declare to Cuba that we cannot and will not give life and vigor and sanction to her monstrous slave system, by keeping an open market for her productions. As we deplore and condemn the iniquity, so should we protest against the traffic in its fruits. Instead of aiding in upholding it, our duty is to strive for its overthrow. Let us be consistent in our course, and be guiltless of deviating from the requirements of the broad principles of universal justice and liberty. Free America should cry out against giving protection to Cuban slavery.

The subject of temperance here, as elsewhere, is claiming more than ordinary attention. The various organizations for its promotion are earnestly engaged in their good work. The recent Convention at Harrisburg was a great success, a fresh incentive to action, and the source of increased fervor, energy and determination. The attitude of Gov. Geary is encouraging, and recognized as an advantage to the progress of the reform. But the measure adopted in this behalf, the zeal, the labor, and the deeds performed, cannot be more than commensurate with the imperative need. The greatest incentive to action is the magnitude of the evils of intemperance, its increasing sway, and multiplying effects manifest on every hand. Comparatively few people of Philadelphia are fully aware of the dominion of this terrible vice. The last report of the agent for the county prison makes many startling disclosures. During the past year more than forty-four thousand arrests were made by the police in the city, and of these "three-fourths were cases of disorder arising solely from the use of intoxicating liquors." The number of rum-shops are said to have multiplied to an incredible extent. "It has been estimated by those amply competent to know, that there are as many tippling-houses in Philadelphia, at this time, as there are lamp-posts in the streets." During last year the sum of one hundred and sixty-six thousand dollars was paid into the State Treasury, by this city, for the licenses of rum-shops. Would you not marvel if there was no grand awakening of the temperance movement here? If our clergymen were to devote themselves to this cause with half the zeal they have shown in opposition to the Sunday cars, how laudable would be their efforts! What a mighty work remains unaccomplished, claiming the zealous attention of all true men and women, calling for all their exertions to stop the spread of this monster vice, and banish it from our midst. W.

REBEL AGITATION.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE New York rebel organ, the *Metropolitan Record*, in an article on "Agitation, the life of parties," says:

"The Democratic party has been so long out in the cold, that nothing can save it but vigorous action; no spasmodic exertion, but earnest, intense, incessant action. It must warm up to its work, and then keep at it, not only in the great centres of population, but in the country towns and villages, in the stores and workshops, where men meet for toil or relaxation, wherever there is a stanch Democrat to work," etc.

Very good. We suppose this has reference to the "earnest, intense, incessant action" that was a "warm up" to the faithful in Memphis, New Orleans, to say nothing of other cities, where murder, by retail, of freedmen and United States soldiers has fed Southern barbarians and savage secessionists on blood.

The Democracy, *alias* rebels, have been so completely and effectually put "out in the cold," that something had to be done to revive its waning spirit. But as Congress seems now to have interfered with this murder-patent Southern blood-warming process, there is now a fear that rebellion will ultimately die out in spirit; so here we have a sheet that Gen. Grant said he would crush, if he had the power, filled to the brim with devil-inspired articles from rebel brains, calling loudly for "agitation;" which being translated, means, "hatred for the North, through the instrumentality of the Democratic party revived, which, at any time through the last six years, would have surrendered our fathers and brothers and ourselves to the tender mercies of men whose recent history has been that of fiends incarnate—perfect scions of h—ll."

Well, let the rebels "agitate" all that they want to; but they must exercise a little caution, lest they get into that very "last ditch" which loyal voters are now digging to put their leader, Andrew Johnson, in, either through official strangulation by Congressional impeachment, or through that death which comes by want of official breath at the end of his term, when "the places that now know him, shall know him no more forever." T,

Boston, Mass.

CIVIL RIGHTS IN TEXAS—MARTIAL LAW IN GRAYSON COUNTY.

GALVESTON, TEXAS, Monday, March 11.

GEN. GRIFFIN has issued an order, saying that in consequence of the repeated outrages and murders in Grayson County, and the seeming unwillingness and inability of the civil officers to give protection to citizens, the operations of order No. 5 are hereby suspended in Grayson County, and the Assistants of the Freedmen's Bureau are hereby directed to arrest all persons who are, or hereafter may be, charged with the commission of crimes and offences against citizens, refugees or freedmen, in cases where the civil authority has failed, neglected, or been unable to bring the parties to trial, and to detain them in confinement until such time as a proper judicial tribunal shall be ready and willing to try them.

Gen. Griffin also orders the use of military force to enforce this order whenever required.

Mr. Lamp, Private Secretary of the Governor, has gone to Washington to consult the President about reconstructing the State.

SOURCES OF POWER.

A SERMON

BY REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE THIRD UNITARIAN CONGREGATION, NEW YORK.

Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.—EPHESIANS vi. 10.

WE have a popular phrase, "The Battle of Life." But the idea of life as a battle seems to have come from no more modern a man than Paul. It is drawn out in full imagery in that closing chapter of Ephesians, in which he exhorts his fellow-believers to put on the whole armor of God. His idea of the Life Battle was clear and earnest; ours is vague and sentimental. It might perhaps be correctly said that, with him the battle was a life battle—a battle running through life, a battle with evil, to which life must be devoted; while with us the battle is a struggle for life, a struggle to get on in life. With us the battle is understood to be between man and his material condition, and is decided when one or the other goes to the wall. This is what Darwin means by it; this is what Dickens means by it, and all the novelists. With Paul the battle was understood to be between the higher elements in man and the lower—between intelligence and instinct, reason and passion, the human and the bestial, love and lust. In a word, the battle with him, whether on a large scale or on a small one, was *moral*. With us the battle, whether on a large scale or a small one, is *physical*. With him the fight was between the best man and the worst; with us it lies between any man and his circumstances.

And this difference of conception accounts for the very different kind of equipment that is judged necessary in the two cases. Mark how he insists on the necessity of preparation. The whole armor must be put on—the girdle of truth, the breastplate of justice, the shield of faith, the greaves of hope, the sword of the spirit. This equipment matched his foe. This struggle was not for life, but for *manhood*. This foe was not poverty, or obscurity, or any of the discomforts of a disfranchised or unprivileged lot: they were falsehood, injustice, cowardice, hopelessness, vice, animalism. We, on the other hand, make no such preparation, because we are on our guard against no such enemies. Our confessed enemies are physical want, want of income, want of luxury, want of social position, want of civil or legal rights, want of reputation, want of the thousand things that make existence desirable in modern society. We war not against *wrong*, but against *mischief;* not against *evil*, but against *inconvenience*—and, therefore, our preparation is of a kind which he would have considered as being no preparation at all. In fact, he would have looked on many of our helps as hindrances, and would have dealt swift blows at our armor, feeling sure that it must conceal a foe.

Let me make my meaning clearer, if I can. Go back a few miles into the country, to some small village of a few hundred inhabitants. The chief edifice there is the church. There is a moral apparatus out of all proportion to the use that can be made of it. The people are staunch orthodox. They attend divine service three times on Sunday; they have a conference meeting in the middle of the week. At home family prayer is perhaps an institution, and grace before meat. The individual members of the household are rigid in the practice of private worship and the reading of the Bible. The children are brought up under strict discipline and rules of obedience; pious precepts are inculcated upon them day by day. You would think they were a little band of Christians, passing through to hostile territory, and obliged to sleep with their weapons under their pillows and their armor never put off. Yet their life is almost wholly free from moral danger. It is a life of extreme simplicity and frugality. Their daily walk is plain and straight. To sell a few dollars' worth of goods, to talk a little politics, to gossip with a neighbor, to make a patch-work coverlet or burnish up the tins, to shoe a horse, read the newspaper or drive a team, consumes the day. There is immense preparation for battle, and no foe.

Come now to New York, and the terms are exactly reversed. Here the enemy is legion, and the preparation is nothing. Temptation lurks at the corners of streets; moral pestilence walks in darkness; moral destruction waits at noonday; vice is abroad under every form; appetite takes unmeasured license from unmeasured opportunity; passion is stimulated exorbitantly; people are thrown together in a way that excites all the animal propensities in them; the struggle for money and place is terrific; the thirst for pleasure is insatiable; the rage for luxury and show is fierce; intemperance, gluttony, licentiousness make fearful havoc of health and happiness and life. A frightful struggle is going on, as of wild beasts in an arena; the brutes are all let loose, and the keepers walk about in kids, and patent leathers, and fine silk hats, which they are chiefly concerned to keep clean and glossy. Armor is pronounced ungenteel; habits of prayerlessness are universal. The Bible is splendidly bound in morocco, with bevelled boards and gilt edges, and laid on the centre-table. The churches accommodate less than a third of the population. They are scarcely ever more than two-thirds filled, and the most pretentious of them are gently patronized of a pleasant Sunday morning by fashionable people, as a most exquisite touch of fashion. With a large portion of the so-called "religious," religion is a species of Sunday entertainment, tending to become more gaudy and sentimental all the time. The institutions of religion apparently exercise no control over the private or the social existence of men and women. Ministers of religion seem to feel little interest in the moral condition of the people at large. There is a general disposition to depreciate the worth of moral ideas and principles. To get opportunity is the great thing, not to get the power to use opportunity; to gain freedom, not to secure the title to it. Even the most earnest spend themselves in efforts to enlarge liberty in every direction, not always remembering that *moral* liberty must be all the more insisted on as animal liberty is granted. In a word, there seems to be a general dearth of *power*. An impression obtains that power is unnecessary—a persuasion that power is a thing that need not be cultivated, but will look out for itself. Enormous evils like the so-called "Social Evil," stalk abroad, with every conceivable malady and misery and curse in their train; and the best we think of doing—the best, I believe, that can be done under the circumstances—is to put them under keeping of the law; not to be extirpated or eradicated or suppressed, but simply to be regulated—their *mischief* being reduced to a minimum, their *wickedness* remaining unstigmatized. Monstrous vices like intemperance spread their poison through all classes of society, ministering to the gratification of the most insensate passion, ruining, maddening, debasing, making victims of just the loveliest and sweetest people there are; and the reformers, the only people who care about the matter at all, can devise nothing more effectual than some excise law, which aims at keeping the Satan within certain authorized limits and getting a revenue out of him. We try to protect ourselves against a mischief; we do not try to overcome an evil or to extirpate a sin.

In other words, we have given up the exercise of power; we have abandoned the earnest cultivation of power. We do not confess ourselves to be in a state of war. Formerly, under the old dispensation, the *human* was stimulated and the *animal* repressed. Now the reverse process goes on; the *animal* is stimulated and the *human* repressed. Once the generation of power in advance of need was made a great point. Now the great point is the extension of opportunity in advance of power. Once discipline went on sternly, and privilege was granted slowly. Now privilege is flung about broadcast, and of discipline there is next to none. Once there was careful and earnest preparation for life. Now life is supposed to be its own educator.

Do not misunderstand me. I am making a keen criticism; but I am making no complaint. I would not have things as they used to be. I would not have people fall to reading their Bibles, or attending prayer-meeting, or keeping up family devotions, or practicing matter-of-course meeting-going, repeating their liturgies and reciting their creeds and listening to sermons, as they used to; for they cannot do that honestly. That thing seems to be ended; it has done its work and passed away. It may or may not revive and become vital again. At all events, it is unreal and artificial now. All the religious apparatus of an orthodox village will not keep the village innocent or virtuous. If the religious apparatus of New York, limited as it is in amount, were sincerely believed in and sincerely used, it would produce great effects; but it is neither sincerely used nor sincerely believed in. It is unsuited to the demands of the time. It does not correspond with secular agencies at all. We think in lightning, and we pray in lead; we trade by steam, and we worship by horse-power; we live by electricity, and we make ready for life by hand. Our needs are supplied by the nineteenth century; our mechanism is taken from the fifth century. America tells us what we have to do, gives us our opportunity, sets us our task; we go to Rome or Antioch, to Alexandria or Jerusalem, to get the strength for them. It is the application of Egyptian hydraulics to Yankee water-power.

But this failure of the old method of generating moral power only proves the necessity of discovering a method that will meet the end. The moral power is indispensable as ever, more indispensable than ever. Never did the purely human need so much stimulating as now; never did men and women more need to feel what it is to be men and women in the best sense of the word; never was there more imperative demand for what used to be called the Heavenly Powers, for what we call reason, intelligence, conscience, principles of justice, convictions of human worth, of life's value and destination; never was more crying need of that which our fathers sought to get by prayer and sacrament and forms of worship. And one of the questions for our time is, How shall this be obtained? What honest means are open to us to obtain it? I am persuaded that without it we shall go down. I deeply believe that without this strength in the inner man—this purely human power, in distinction from the inhuman and the bestial; this social power, as distinguished from the power of individual selfishness; this power of faith, hope, aspiration, will, as distinguished from the power of instinct—we shall lose ground. I believe as much as any in the reality and the supreme worth of the human, in the highest sense—and I mean by human all that has been meant by the divine in common theologic speech. I believe that through the human comes all power and salvation, and I believe that the human must be cultivated by earnest instruction and discipline. How to do this, no one, perhaps, can adequately say. The trouble with us is, that we do not feel deeply enough the *necessity* of doing it. We regard the doing of it as an enterprise of the olden people in the olden time, an enterprise which did not succeed, and had better not be attempted again. Things that should be helps are none. The ministries of Nature are beyond our reach; and if they were not, they would help little in our exigencies. Literature is given over to the work of amusing men. It is a trade pursued for money, and feels little or no responsibility for higher influences. When it does, it loses influence. Magazines do not edify; newspapers do not stand independently for principles. There is pure and good hope of domestic life. Of that I shall speak another time. There is noble hope in the fine studies of sociology; but they will for a long time yet be the property of the few. The philosopher, the man of culture, thought and reason, always has the heavenly world within reach; and whenever he will, can go up into the region of serene ideas, can feel the invisible laws of justice, can watch the working of causes and effects, can traverse the paths of Providence and cover himself with the awe and the glory of God. But such are the very few. They live in a world of their own. The multitude, unable to reach that world of reason or aspiration, unable any longer to mount up to it by the old ladders of faith, remain shut out from it. The decay of the old religion is a misfortune, in my judgment, unless it can be replaced by something which will do the same work that it aimed at, in a grander and simpler way.

Now, there is one way still open, by which this power may come in to any man and woman. And it is a great way; it is *the* great way; it is the way insisted on by Paul himself. When we look deeply into his thought, we shall see it. It is the way held up and followed by his disciples; it is the way that run underneath all that church apparatus, and which that church apparatus was only so much provision for opening and clearing and pointing men to; it is the way that all Christendom has been actually walking in, while it walked heavenward at all, and which it declared to be the only way to walk in—a way buried beneath rubbish now, to a great extent, and hidden from view by the overgrowth of centuries—covered up, in fact, by the very sign-boards and fences that were once serviceable in leading men to it, and preventing their straying from it—by the spades and rollers that were once used to keep it clear and smooth. That way is the honor and worship of humanity in its noblest forms, the reverent, humble, grateful homage of those who exhibit the human that is in us all, under the loftiest aspect and in the most glowing way. I believe that Paul really meant no more than this by his Christ; I believe the earnest church meant no more than this by its doctrine of the God-man; I believe that he shadowed forth to men that most sweet and noble truth which they knew how to utter only by this symbol, and which they did not dare in their own crudities to entertain—that their humanity touched the heavens and blended with the mysteries that dwell there. The same Paul who said "Put on the whole armor of God," said, "I can do all things through Christ." The same Paul said again, "He that hath not the spirit of Christ is none of his." The Christ must be in you, "and if Christ be in you, ye are alive." And yet again this same Paul carries out the idea, by declaring that that spirit which we have in common with Jesus makes us children of God, enables us to cry, "Abba Father." Groping through these texts, we come upon this simple idea, that this great sample of a man glorifies all humanity. His *actual* is to all men possible. His story is the human story. Tell this story, he would say to all mankind. Tell it to the bigotted Jews; tell it to the cunning Greeks; to the Corinthians, curious about philosophy; to the Athenians, worshipping unknown gods. Tell it to the Romans. Carry these glad and almost incredible tidings to the drunkard, just dragged from the gutter; to the harlot, sickening in her life of shame; to the criminal, black with guilt in his prison. Carry it to the miserable slave, under the heel of a hard master. Carry it to the master, degraded by his authority. Carry it to the liar, the cheat, the gambler, the poisoner of his fellow-men. Carry it to the sorrowful; carry it to the desponding; carry it to the tempted and the fallen; carry it to the unbelieving, the scoffing, the blasphemous. Say to them, I show you one in form and feature like yourselves, born as you were, exercised and buffetted as you are, human all over as you are. I present to you this grand man as your brother, as one of you, bone of your bone, flesh of your flesh, blood of your blood, soul of your soul. Look at him! See in him what flower is folded up in yourself. Touch him, venerate him, bend the knee to him if you can. Let the light of his eyes fall on you. Let but a spark of love for him fall among the rubbish of your brutality; it will take fire and consume away, and as by fire you shall be saved. I believe that this is what Paul had in his thought. As he contemplated Jesus, it was disclosed to him that all the men and women about him had in them this possibility of glory; and to him the persuasion came that, by presenting that image in its beauty to men, the latent humanity in them would revive, and lift them to their feet, and enable them to walk away from their corruption in penitential shame. He felt sure that no more would be necessary.

But this truth is as noble for us as it was for him. This method of his was the method that men always employ in earnest moods. When baseness receives its most crushing rebuke, when hope receives its most transcendant assurance, when endeavor receives its finest consecration, when vice and evil receive their most humiliating doom, it is when some great person floods us with the splendor or overshadows us with the awe of our own humanity. Here is the essential significance of Jesus—a significance real for all who can apprehend him now in his humanity. It is not so easy to apprehend him now, for he is too far back in time to be a memory. He is too much hidden beneath the dogmas of the church to be a tradition. The very few are able to get at him through the mists and vapors of two thousand years. To the vast multitude, he has been so separated from humanity by the theology of the church and by the high offices he has been supposed to discharge towards it, that they can make no inference from him to themselves. His glory does not reflect light on them; his greatness is no pledge of theirs; his virtue is no encouragement to theirs; his example does not stimulate or shame them. They call him a son of God, without in the least feeling that *they* are sons if he was, or that other people are sons because he was. The more they exalt him, the more they abase themselves; the more they venerate him, the more they despise themselves. They may pray to him, and curse themselves in the same breath. According to his grandeur, therefore, he may possibly be a minister to them of weakness and discouragement.

But when men and women can get at that sublime soul; when they can feel him, through the New Testament or otherwise, as a living man, I do believe that no more available or exhaustless fountain of moral force exists than he.

[Mr. Frothingham then spoke of the heroic lives of Robertson, Channing and Parker, to whom the example of Jesus was a source of real power; of Sumner, Phillips, Garrison, Beecher, and others, whose lives would hereafter be quoted as examples of noble human character, a rich legacy and a help to those who come after them. He spoke of the few of every age in whom the human elements rise to surpassing heights of power, and from whom the power descends in great floods upon mankind. He concluded by reading the following lines from Trench:]

I SAY to thee, Do thou repeat
To the first man thou mayest meet
In lane, highway or open street,

That he and we and all men move
Under a canopy of Love
As broad as the blue sky above;

That doubt and trouble, fear and pain,
And anguish—all are shadows vain;
That death itself shall not remain;

That weary deserts we may tread,
A dreary labyrinth may thread,
Through pathways underground be led;
Yet if we will one Guide obey,
The dreariest path, the darkest way,
Shall issue out in heavenly day,
And we, on divers shores now cast,
Shall meet, our perilous voyage past,
All in our Father's house at last.
And ere thou leave him, say thou this,
Yet one word more: They only miss
The winning of that fatal bliss
Who will not count it true, that Love,
Blessing, not cursing, rules above,
And that in it we live and move.
And one thing further make him know—
That to believe these things are so,
This firm faith never to forego—
Despite of all that seems at strife
With blessing, all with curses rife,
That this is blessing, this is life.

LUCY STONE'S ARGUMENT BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY LEGISLATURE.

LUCY STONE addressed a Committee of the New Jersey Legislature on Wednesday evening, the 6th inst., in behalf of the disfranchised classes—women and negroes. The following is a synopsis of her address:

We ask you to submit to the people of New Jersey an amendment to the Constitution of the State, striking out the words "white male" from article 2, section 1, thus enfranchising the women and colored men who jointly constitute a majority of our adult citizens. You will thereby establish a republican form of government. New Jersey, in her State Constitution, in the very first section of the first article, affirms that, "All men are by nature free and independent, and have certain natural and inalienable rights, among which are enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness." Again, Article 2. "All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for the protection and benefit of the people, and they have the right, at all times, to alter, or reform the same whenever the public good may require it." Gentlemen will see it is no new claim we are making. We only ask for the fractional application of admitted, self-evident truths. If all political power is inherent in the people, then why have we, who are more than half the entire population of the State, no political existence?

In Holland, women who are property-holders vote. In Sweden they do the same. But we have an example nearer home. In New Jersey women and negroes voted from 1776 to 1807, a period of 31 years. The facts are as follows: In 1709, a Provincial law confined the privilege of voting to "male freeholders having 160 acres of land in their own right, or £50 current money of the province in real and personal estate," and during the whole of the Colonial period these qualifications continued unchanged. But on the 2d of July, 1776—two days before the declaration of Independence—the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, at Burlington, adopted a Constitution, which remained in force until 1844, of which section four is as follows: "Qualifications of electors for members of Legislatures. *All inhabitants of this Colony*, of full age, who are worth £50 Proclamation money, clear estate, in the same, and have resided within the county, in which they claim a vote, for 12 months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for representatives in Council and Assembly, and also for all other public officers that shall be elected by the people of the county at large. Section 7 provides that the Council and Assembly jointly shall elect *some fit person within the Colony*, to be Governor." This Constitution remained in force until 1844. Thus, by a deliberate change of the terms "male freeholder," to "all inhabitants," suffrage and ability to hold the highest office in the State, were conferred both on women and negroes. In 1790 a committee of the Legislature reported a bill regulating elections, in which the words "*he or she*" are applied to voters, thus giving legislative indorsement to the alleged meaning of the Constitution. In 1797 the Legislature passed an act to regulate elections, containing the following provisions:

Sec. 9. "Every voter shall openly and in full view deliver *his or her ballot*, which shall be a single written ticket containing the names of the person, or persons, for whom *he or she votes*, etc.

Sec. 11. All free inhabitants of full age who are worth £50 Proclamation money, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote, for 12 months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for all public officers which shall be elected by virtue of this act, and no person shall be entitled to vote in any other township or precinct than that in which he or she doth actually reside at the time of the election."

Women voted. But no catastrophe, social or political, ensued. Women did not cease to be womanly. They did not neglect their domestic duties. Indeed the whole character and exalted patriotism of the women of New Jersey all through the Revolution has been the subject of historical eulogy. The later immigrants into New Jersey were far inferior to the original Puritan and Quaker elements. Under these circumstances universal suffrage was an anomaly. The Revolutionary impulse subsided. Society retrograded. Slavery smothered the spirit of liberty. In the Spring of 1807 a special election was held in Essex County to decide upon the location of a court-house and jail—Newark and its vicinity struggling to retain the County buildings, Elizabethtown and its neighborhood striving to remove them to "Day's Hill." The question excited much interest, as the value of every man's property was thought to be involved. Not only was every legal voter, man or woman, white or black, brought out, but, on both sides gross frauds were practiced. The property qualification was generally disregarded; aliens and minors participated, any many persons "voted early and voted often." In Acquackanonk Township, thought to contain about 300 legal voters, over 1,800 votes were polled, all but seven in the interest of Newark. It does not appear that either *women or negroes* were more especially implicated in these frauds than the white men. But the affair caused great scandal, and they seem to have been made the scapegoats. When the Legislature assembled, they set aside the election as fraudulent, yet Newark retained the buildings. Then they passed an act (Nov. 15, 1807) restricting the suffrage to white male, adult citizens, residents in the county for the twelve months preceding and worth £50 Proclamation money. But they went on, and provided that all such, whose names appeared on the last duplicate of State or County taxes, should be considered worth £50; thus virtually abolishing the property qualification. In 1820 the same provisions were repeated and maintained until 1844, when the present State Constitution was substituted.

Thus, in defiance of the letter of the Constitution and the uniform statutes and practice of a generation, women and negroes were disfranchised by an arbitrary act of the Legislature, without discussion and almost without comment. Yet the very act which disfranchised voters whose only crimes were sex and color, set aside the property qualification, and admitted to the polls all white male tax-payers, however ignorant or degraded. Therefore, we come before you, here in New Jersey, with a peculiar and special claim. We have had this right; we have exercised it. It has been unjustly taken away without our consent, without our being allowed to say a word in our own defence. We have been condemned unheard, not by the people, but by the Legislature. To-day we ask you, after the lapse of more than half a century, to give the people of New Jersey an opportunity of rectifying an act of atrocious political usurpation and injustice. For it was worse in principle than the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon. He, at least, went through the form of submitting the question to a verdict of the people. Our disfranchisement can only be justified on the robber's plea that "might makes right."

FOR THE STANDARD.

THOUGHTS

SUGGESTED BY PROF. WM. DENTON'S LECTURES.

BRING forth your tangled snarls of doubt,
Give science time, she'll pick them out;
She lays the heart of old Earth bare,
And counts eternal pulses there.

Through granite rock or coral grove
Our flesh-shod feet may never rove;
But who shall dare to limit thought,
Or scorn the price with which 'tis bought?

Who fears the light, hath feeble eyes—
His tower's a prison in disguise;
When Reason's handcuffed on the throne,
How fast toward Truth will man march on?

What though the sea-wall threat the wave,
"No farther shall thy waters lave;"
The ocean answers with a kiss,
And, grain by grain, takes what are his.

What though the night defy the morn,
It cannot stay the coming dawn;
God's voice is ringing through all spheres,
"Let there be light"—and Light appears.

Truth doth at first aggressive seem—
This fact from history's page we glean;
'Tis this that lit the martyr's fire;
'Tis this that wakes the bigot's ire.

Strong feet, though bleeding, climb the height
Where creep no shadows of the night;
Strong spirits touch an unknown shore
That future ages shall explore.

CATHERINE S. EVERETT RICE.

Natick, Feb. 22, 1867.

OBITUARY.

DIED, suddenly, on the 9th of Second month, 1867, in Byberry, 23d Ward, Philadelphia, SAMUEL KIRK, aged 60 years, 11 months, and 15 days.

Forty-four years ago he came to this place as an apprentice boy; with a heart full of love to every one, and by close attention to the manifestations of duty, he was enabled to advance step by step in the right path, to an eminence beyond which few can hope to attain. His honesty of purpose and uprightness of heart, drew around him in close communion a large circle of friends: the oppressed and down-trodden race received from him every assistance that was in his power to bestow, and so widely spread had this knowledge of him become, that he was often visited on their behalf to the satisfaction of all concerned.

He was a machinist by trade, which he followed for nearly forty years, and by diligent attention to his business gained the highest reputation. A member of the Religious Society of Friends, he early became concerned for the maintenance of their testimonies, and in his life and conversation was an example worthy of imitation; he was very active in the affairs of society and for many years served in the capacity of overseer.

In the social circle his influence was widely spread, and there will his loss be most deeply felt. Conversant on all subjects, he was brought into fellowship with some of the great minds of the day, and on such occasions his many qualities of head and heart were noticeable in the most satisfactory manner. He was interested in many of the societies in the neighborhood for the advancement of education and morality, and was one of the originators of the Byberry Philosophical Society, where, by the aid of his mechanical genius, many experiments were made, useful to himself and his fellow-members. No parent was more interested in the welfare of his children, and as they grew up around him, the feelings of his heart were made manifest in his many acts of kindness to them.

He is gone. No more will be heard his cheerful voice, no more will be seen his animated form; we have laid him away with many tears, where the flowers of Spring shall bloom over his grave, and the birds of Summer tune their melodies over his peaceful remains, but we would not call him back, he has gained a heritage in that blissful abode where all is glory and peace forevermore.

The funeral took place at Byberry Meeting-House on Fourth day, the 13th inst., where was assembled a large concourse of people to pay their respect to the last sad rites of the deceased, and as all were gathered under the solemnity of the occasion, words of comfort and consolation were expressed, and all were made to feel, that, though affliction visits us at all times, would we centre our thoughts in the great idea of right, we would be prepared, as was our deceased brother, to enter into the enjoyment of that rest, which, in the goodness of God, is the alloted hope of all. C.

Byberry, Second month 16th, 1867.

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTIONS.

GEN. HARRIMAN ELECTED BY 3,000 MAJORITY.

CONCORD, N. H., Tuesday, March 12.

THE returns from ninety-two towns give Harriman 20,480 votes and Sinclair 17,433 votes. The majority for Gen. Harriman will be about 3,000 in the whole State. The Republicans have elected three Congressmen by majorities of about one thousand each. They will probably elect nine out of the twelve State Senators; four of the five Councillors, and will probably have seventy-five majority in the House. The result is more favorable to the Republicans than was generally expected.

SECOND DISPATCH.

We have returns from 126 towns, which give Harriman 25,097 votes, and Sinclair and scattering 22,462 votes. Ela, in the First Congressional District, is probably elected by 1,200 majority, and Stevens, in the Second District, and Benton in the Third District, by about 1,000 majority each. The Council will stand, four Republicans and one Democrat.

In the Senate, 8 Republicans and 4 Democrats probably elected. In the House there is a Republican majority of 80. The Republicans have a majority in six counties, and the Democrats in four counties. The vote in the State will exceed the vote of last year in the aggregate by 1,500 to 2,000. The whole of the State will exceed 67,000. The majority for Harriman for Governor will probably exceed 3,000.

LITERARY.

Of "The Autobiography of a French Protestant Condemned to the Galleys," translated from the French by the Religious Tract Society, the *Spectator* says:

. M. Michelet, in the course of his investigation for his work on "The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," lighted, it seems, upon the original of this volume, and said of it, "It is a book of the first order, distinguished by the charming *naiveté* of the recital, by its angelic sweetness, written as if between earth and heaven." This naturally led to a reprint, and a translation into English has followed. The work does not appear for the first time now in an English dress. So long ago as 1758 it had attracted the attention of no less a person than Oliver Goldsmith, who translated it under the pseudonym of "John Willington." The present translator does not give any reason why it was not considered desirable to rest satisfied with Goldsmith's rendering: but as he has done his work very well, and produced a narrative which fairly represents the spirit of the original, we are not much concerned to know. The story is indeed an interesting one, and the manner of telling it quite deserves M. Michelet's eulogy. The picture of life on board a French galley is as perfect as it is fresh; the systematic cruelties, only relieved by the humanity of Turks, are described with a terrible simplicity; the reader's attention is kept up as in a first-rate novel, and everybody must rejoice at the end, when poetic justice is done, and the villain of the story, Louis XIV., humiliated and baffled, is compelled to release his victims at the request of good Queen Anne. It is also pleasant to learn that M. Marteilhe, the narnotor, was so little affected by his sufferings as to reach the advanced age of ninety-three.

The Philadelphia *Tribune* will shortly be edited by W. W. Broom. It will be the organ of Equal Rights, will fearlessly expose the cruelties inflicted upon the freedmen, and will impartially report all progressive movements. Pecuniary assistance is required to enable Mr. Broom to make the paper a first-class exponent of radicalism in Philadelphia. Loans and donations are solicited which are to be sent to W. W. Broom, No 212 Chestnut st., Philadelphia, Pa.

The American Phrenological Journal for March contains, as usual, many suggestive and profitable articles. "Woman's Rights, and Woman's Wrongs," by John Neal, is an effective plea for the extension of suffrage, irrespective of sex. The sketches of character, with portraits and biographies, of the Congressional Excursionists will interest many. Also the sketch and portrait of N. P. Willis. Some practical suggestions are given to those "going to Paris," which may prove a timely warning. Published on the first of each month at $2 per year, by Fowler & Wells, 389 Broadway, N. Y.

The Atlantic for March presents a variety of interesting articles. Mr. Holmes's story "The Guardian Angel," is continued with his characteristic tact as a novelist, the closing paragraphs leaving the reader eager for the next instalment. Agassiz contributes a second instructive article on the "Glacial Phenomena in Maine." We notice in the very readable article on Chicago, by Mr. Parton, one refreshing passage. In speaking of the educational advantages of that city, the writer says, "In the High School, colored lads and girls may be seen in most of the classes, mingled with the other pupils; and in the evening schools of the city colored men and women are received on precisely the same footing as white. Colored children also attend the common schools and no one objects or sees anything extraordinary in the fact." "The True Problem," by Carl Schurz, is an able political contribution, well worthy a careful reading. Other entertaining articles, with the continuation of the stories "George Bedillion, Knight" and "Katherin Morne" make up the variety.

Our Young Folks for March furnishes its wonted attractions, not the least of which are its pleasing illustrations. No wonder this monthly is received with such favor by our young people. Terms $2 per year. Ticknor & Fields, Publishers.

The Friend for March contains—A Protest against the Destruction of Birds; Whither; Liberal Christianity; The Four Gospels; The Sacred Word, by Robert Collyer; The Snow; No Other True Guide, by Robert Foster; The United States vs. Andrew Johnson; The Impeachment, by E. S. Bunker; and editorial Notes. The Friend Association 131 William st., N. Y.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.—The Subscription Festival Committee acknowledge the following additional contribution: Henry G. Denny, $10 00.

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

THE first annual meeting of the AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION will be held in the City of New York, at the Church of the Puritans, on Thursday and Friday, the 9th and 10th of May next, commencing on Thursday morning, at 10 o'clock.

The object of this Association is to secure Equal Rights to all American citizens, especially the Right of Suffrage, irrespective of race, color or sex.

American Democracy has interpreted the Declaration of Independence in the interest of slavery, restricting suffrage and citizenship to a *white male minority*.

The black man is still denied the crowning right of citizenship, even in the nominally free States, though the fires of civil war have melted the chains of chattelism, and a hundred battle-fields attest his courage and patriotism.

Half our population are disfranchised on the ground of sex; and though compelled to obey the law and taxed to support the government, they have no voice in the legislation of the country.

This Association then has a mission to perform, the magnitude and importance of which cannot be overestimated.

The recent war has unsettled all our governmental foundations. Let us see that in their restoration, all these unjust proscriptions are avoided. Let Democracy be defined anew, as *the government of the people*, AND THE WHOLE PEOPLE.

Let the gathering, then, at this anniversary be, in numbers and character, worthy, in some degree the demands of the hour. The black man, even the black soldier, is yet but half emancipated, nor will he be, until his full suffrage and citizenship *are secured to him in the Federal Constitution*. Still more deplorable is the condition of the black woman; and legally, that of the white woman is no better!

Shall the sun of the nineteenth century go down on wrongs like these, in this nation, consecrated in its infancy to justice and freedom? Rather let our meeting be pledge as well as prophecy to the world of mankind, that the redemption of at least one great nation is near at hand.

In behalf of the American Equal Rights Association,
LUCRETIA MOTT, President.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Cor. Secretary.
HENY B. BLACKWELL, Rec. Secretary.

New York, 12th March, 1867.

[Communications relating to this Anniversary, and donations in aid of its objects, to be addressed to SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 464 West Thirty-fourth street, New York.]

EQUAL RIGHTS MEETINGS.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON and SUSAN B. ANTHONY will speak at the following places at 7½ o'clock p.m.:

Cohoes, Friday, March 15.
Schenectady, Monday, March 18.
Amsterdam, Tuesday, March 19.
Fultonville, Wednesday, March

Miscellaneous Department.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

BY HIMSELF.

AND one there was, a dreamer born,
Who, with a mission to fulfil,
Had left the muses' haunts to turn
The crank of an opinion-mill,
Making his rustic reed of song
A weapon in the war with wrong,
Yoking his fancy to the breaking-plough
That beam-deep turned the soil for truth to spring and grow.

Too quiet seeme l the man to ride
The winged hippogriff reform;
Was his a voice from side to side
To pierce the tumult of the storm?
A silent, shy, peace-loving man,
He seemed no fiery partisan
To hold his way against the public frown,
The ban of Church and State, the fierce mob's hounding down.

For while he wrought with strenuous will
The work his hands had found to do,
He heard the fitful music still
Of winds that out of dream-land blew.
The din about him could not drown
What the strange voices whispered down;
Along his task-field wierd processions swept,
The visionary pomp of stately phantoms stepped.

The common air was thick with dreams—
He told them to the toiling crowd;
Such music as the woods and streams
Sang in his ear he sang aloud;
In still, shut bays, on windy capes,
He heard the call of beckoning shapes;
And, as the gray old shadows prompted him,
To homely moulds of rhyme he shaped their legends grim.

He rested now his weary hands,
And lightly moralized and laughed,
As, tracing on the shifting sands
A burlesque of his paper craft,
He saw the careless waves o'errun
His words, as time before had done,
Each day's tide-water washing clean away,
Like letters from the sand, the work of yesterday.

—"*The Tent on the Beach.*"

HISTORY OF A WEATHERCOCK,

BEING THE WONDERFUL AND INSTRUCTIVE LEGEND OF MEDIO-POLLITO.

Translated from the Spanish of Fernan Caballero.

THERE was once upon a time a handsome hen, who lived very comfortably in a court-yard, surrounded by her numerous family, among whom there was one chicken that was both lame and ugly. Now this was the very one that the mother loved best of all; for that is the way with mothers.

This cripple had been hatched from a very tiny little egg. He was, indeed, no more than half a chicken; for he had only one eye, one wing, and one claw, and for all that he gave himself more airs than his father did, who was the handsomest and bravest and most gentlemanly cock in all the fowl yards for sixty miles round. This chick thought himself the Phœnix of his race. If the other cocks laughed at him, he thought it was out of envy; and if the hens did, he said it was out of anger because of the little attention he paid them.

One day he said to his mother, "Look here, mother. The country wearies me; I have made up my mind to go to court. I want to see the King and Queen."

The poor mother began to tremble when she heard these words.

"My son," she exclaimed, "who should have put such nonsense into your head? Your father has never once been outside of his own domain, and he is the pride of his race. Why, where would you find such a court yard as you have here? Or where a grander manure-heap? Where would you find better or more plentiful food, a warmer henroost, or a family that loves you more dearly?"

"Nego," said Medio-Pollito in Latin—for he set up to be a great scholar. "My brothers and my cousins are all ignorant clowns."

"But, my son," continued his mother, "have you never looked at yourself in the glass? Have you not found out that you have got one eye and one claw less than other people?"

"Nay, if you begin upon that," replied Medio-Pollito, "I shall answer that you ought to fall down dead for shame at seeing me in such a state. It is your fault and nobody's else. What sort of an egg did I come out of pray? Was it laid by an old cock?"

"No my son," said the hen, "for old basilisks come out of those eggs. You were hatched from a very wee little egg; but indeed that was no fault of mine."

"Perhaps," said Medio-Pollito—his comb turning as red as scarlet—"I shall meet with some clever surgeon who will put on my missing limbs. Anyhow, my mind is made up; off I go."

When the poor hen saw that there was no way of turning him from his purpose, she said:

"At least, my son, hearken to the counsel of a loving mother. Take care not to pass by any churches where there is a statue of St. Peter—for that saint is not at all fond of cocks, and still less of their crow. Avoid also certain men whom there are in the world, called cooks; for they are our mortal enemies, and will wring your neck as soon as look at you. And now, my son, St. Raphael, the patron of travellers, be your guide. Go and ask your father's blessing."

Medio-Pollito approached the venerable author of his existence, and stooping to kiss his claw, begged his blessing. The worthy old cock gave it him with more dignity than affection; for he was by no means fond of him on account of his peevish temper. But his mother was so much moved that she was obliged to wipe away her tears with a withered leaf.

Then Medio-Pollito began his march, clapping his wings and crowing three times as a signal of departure.

As he arrived at the banks of a stream that was almost dried up—for it was Summer—it so happened that the slender thread of water was hindered from flowing by a few branches that had fallen across its bed. On seeing the traveler, the Stream said:

"Thou seest, friend, how weak I am. Scarcely can I move a step, and I have not strength to push aside these branches that block up my way. Neither can I make a round to avoid them—for it would exhaust me. Thou couldst easily get me out of this difficulty by parting the branches with thy beak. In return, thou mayest not only quench thy thirst in my current, but reckon on my services as soon as the rains of heaven shall have restored my strength."

The chicken replied:

"I could, but I don't choose. Do you think I look like the servant of dirty little streams?"

"Thou wilt remember me when least thou thinkest," murmured the stream in a fainting voice.

"It's very fine for you to boast!" returned Medio-Pollito, mockingly. "Why, one would think you had just drawn a prize in the lottery, or could be sure of help from the waters of the Deluge."

A little farther on he met with the Wind, lying faint and helpless on the ground. "Dear Medio-Pollito," he said, "in this world we have all need of one another. Come near and look on me. Seest thou what the heat of Summer has done to me? to me, so strong, so mighty? to me, who raises the waves, who lays waste the fields, whose power none can withstand! This Midsummer day has killed me. I fell asleep intoxicated by the perfume of the flowers with which I was playing, and here thou sees me swooning. If thou wouldst but raise me two inches from the ground with thy beak and fan me with thy wing, that would enable me to take flight to my cavern, where my mother and sisters, the Storms, are busy mending up a few old clouds that I have torn. There they will give me some refreshing draughts and I shall recover my strength."

"Sir Wind," replied the ill-natured chicken, "many a time have you amused yourself at my expense, puffing at me from behind and blowing open my tail like a fan, so that all who saw it might laugh at me. No, no, my friend; every dog has his day, so good afternoon to you, Mr. Joker." With this he crowed three times in a loud voice and strutted proudly away. In the middle of a stubble-field to which the laborers had set fire, there rose up a slender column of smoke. Medio-Pollito drew near and saw a tiny flame flickering from time to time among the ashes.

"Dear Medio-Pollito," said the little Flame, "thou art come in the very nick of time to save my life. I am at my last gasp for want of fuel. I cannot think what has become of my cousin, the Wind, for it is he who always helps me out of my troubles. Do bring me one or two little straws to revive me."

What business is it of mine?" replied Medio-Pollito. "You may go out if you like, and welcome. I don't want you."

"Who knows but you may want me some day?" answered the Flame. "No one can say, 'There shall be no harm happen unto me.'"

"Now, then," said the cross creature, "must you always be preaching? Take that then!"

And so saying he covered him with ashes, after which he began to crow, as usual, as though he had done some great deed.

Medio-Pollito at last reached the capital, and passed in front of a church which they told him was St. Peter's. Thereupon he posted himself in the doorway and crowed until he nearly cracked his voice, for nothing in the world but to annoy the Saint, and to have the pleasure of disobeying his mother.

When he came to the palace he wanted to go in to see the King and Queen, but the sentinels cried out to him, "Keep off!"

Thereupon he turned aside and went through a back door into a large room where he saw a great many people passing to and fro. He asked who they were, and was informed that they were his Majesty's cooks. Instead of running away, as his mother had advised him to do, in he marched with head and crest erect.

Immediately one of the scullions laid hands on him, and wrung his neck in a twinkling.

"Hallo, there!" said he; "bring me some hot water, that I may pluck this fowl."

"Water, my beautiful crystal lady!" cried Medio-Pollito, do not scald me, I entreat you. Have pity on me."

"Hadst thou any pity on me, when I asked thy help, ill-natured bird?" replied the water, boiling with indignation, and splashing him from head to foot, while the scullions left him without a single feather to cover him.

Then the cook laid hold of him and put him on the spit.

"Fire, brilliant Fire!" cried the unhappy bird, "thou who art so powerful and so glorious, have pity on my state, draw in thy flames, and burn me not!"

"Wretch!" replied the fire, "how darest thou appeal to me, after having tried to smother me on the pretext that thou couldst never need my help? Come near and see what I can do!"

And, not content with browning him, he burnt him as black as a cinder.

When the cook saw him in this state, he took him by the leg and slung him out of the window.

Immediately the wind caught hold of him.

"Wind!" cried the Medio-Pollito, my dear and much honored wind! thou who reignest over all and obeyest none, mightiest among the mighty; have compassion on me, and leave me alone on this rubbish-heap!"

"Leave thee!" roared the wind, snatching him away in an eddy and whirling him through the air like a shuttlecock, "No, never as long as I live!"

He set Medio-Pollito down on the top of a steeple. St. Peter stretched out his hand and fastened him there. From that time forth, he occupies this post, blackened, flattened, and featherless, lashed by the rain, and puffed at by the wind, from whom he is always trying to protect his tail.

He is no longer called Medio-Pollito, but Weather-cock. But be it known to you all, that there he still is, reaping the just reward for his disobedience, his pride, and his ill-nature?"

THE LONGEST STORY ON RECORD,

THE following will amuse almost any one who will take the trouble and spare the time to read it through:

There was once a certain King, who, like many Eastern Kings, was very fond of hearing stories told. To this amusement he gave up all his time, but yet he was never satisfied. The exertions of his courtiers were all in vain. He at last made a proclamation that if any man should tell him a story that should last forever, he would certainly make him his heir and give him the princess, his daughter, in marriage, but if any one should pretend he had such a story and should fail, that is, if the story did come to an end—he was to have his head cut off.

For such a price as a beautiful princess and a kingdom, many candidates appeared, and dreadful long stories some of them told. Some of them lasted a week, some a month and some six months. Poor fellows, they all spun them out as long as they possibly could, but all in vain. Sooner or later they all came to an end, and, one after another, the unlucky story-tellers had their heads chopped off. At last came a man who said that he had a story that would last forever, if his majesty would be pleased to give him a trial. He warned him of his danger; they told him how many others had tried and lost their heads, but he said he was not afraid; and so he was brought before the king. He was a man of a very composed and deliberate way of speaking, and, after making all necessary stipulations for his eating, drinking and sleeping, he thus began:

Oh, king, there was once a king who was a great tyrant; and desiring to increase his riches, he seized upon the corn in his kingdom, and put it into an immense granary, which was built on purpose, as high as a mountain. This he did for several years until the granary was quite full to the top. He then stopped the doors and windows on all sides. But the bricklayers had, by accident, left a very small hole near the top of the granary, and there came a flight of locusts and tried to get at the corn, but the hole was so small that only one locust could pass through at a time. So one locust went in and carried off one grain of corn, and then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn, and then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn, and then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn.

He had gone on thus from morning till night (except when he was engaged at his meals) for about a month, when the king began to be rather tired with his locust, and interrupted his story with:

"Well, well, we have heard enough of the locust, we will suppose they helped themselves to all the corn they wanted. Tell us what happened afterwards."

To which the story-teller answered deliberately: "If it please your majesty, it is impossible to tell what happened afterwards before I tell what happened first."

And then he went on: "And then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn, and then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn, and then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn, and then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn, and then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn."

The king listened with unconquerable patience for six months more, when he again interrupted him with:

"Oh! friend! I am weary of your locusts. How soon do you think they will have done?"

To which the story-teller made answer: "Oh! king, who can tell? At the time to which my story has come the locusts have cleared a small space; it may be a cubit each way round the hole, and the air is still dark with locusts on all sides. But let the king have patience, and no doubt we shall have come to the end of them in time."

Thus encouraged, the king listened on for another full year, the story-teller going on still as before.

"And another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn, and then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn, and then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn, and then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn, and then another locust went in and carried off another grain of corn."

At last the poor king could stand it no longer, and cried out:

"Oh, man, that is enough, take my daughter! take my kingdom! take anything, everything, only let me hear no more of the abominable locusts."

And so the story-teller was married to the king's daughter, and was declared heir to the throne, and nobody ever expressed a wish to hear the rest of the story, for he said it was impossible to come to the other part of it till he had done with the locusts.

OILING A VENTRILOQUIST.—We find this bit of quiet fun in an English paper: "A gentleman going down the river on a steamer, the engine of which was upon deck, he sauntered out to see the machinery. Near him stood a man apparently bent on the same object. In a few moments a squeaking noise was heard on the opposite side of the engine. Seizing the oil can—a gigantic one, by the way—the engineer sought out the dry spot, and to prevent further noise of that kind liberally applied the contents of the can to every joint. All went on well for a while, when the squeaking was heard in another direction. The oiling process was repeated and quiet was restored; but as the engineer was coming quietly toward the spot occupied by the gentleman and the stranger he heard another squeak. This time he detected the true cause of the difficulty. The stranger was a ventriloquist. Walking straight up behind him, he seized the astonished joker by the nape of the neck and emptied the contents of the can down his back. 'There,' said he, 'I don't believe that old engine will squeak again.'"

THE following beautiful tribute to Longfellow—copied from the Boston *Advertiser*—will be recognized as coming from the pen of J. R. Lowell:

TO H. W. L.,

ON HIS BIRTHDAY, 27TH FEBRUARY, 1867.

I NEED not praise the sweetness of his song,
Where limpid verse to limpid verse succeeds
Smooth as our Charles, when, fearing lest he wrong
The new moon's mirrored skiff, he slides along,
Full without noise, and whispers in his reeds.

With loving breath of all the winds his name
Is blown about the world, but to his friends
A sweeter secret hides behind his fame,
And Love steals shyly through the loud acclaim
To murmur a *God bless you!* and there ends.

As a muse backward up the chequered years
Wherein so much was given, so much was lost,
Blessings in both kins, such as cheapen tears,
But hush! this is not for profaner ears;
Let them drink molten pearls nor dream the cost.

Some suck up sorrow from a sorrow's core,
As nought but nightshade grew upon earth's ground;
Love turned all his to heart's-ease, and the more
Fate tried his bastions, she but found a door
Leading to sweeter manhood and more sound.

Even as a wind-waved fountain's swaying shade
Seems of mixed race, a gray wreath shot with sun,
So through his trial faith translucent shone
Till darkness, half disnatured so, betrayed
A heart of sunshine that would fain o'er-run.

Surely, if skill in song the shears may stay
And of its purpose cheat the charmed abyss,
If our poor life be lengthened by a lay,
He shall not go, although his presence may,
And the next age in praise shall double this.

Long days be his, and each as lusty-sweet
As gracious natures find his song to be;
May Age steal on with softly-cadenced feet
Falling in music, as for him were meet
Whose choicest verse is not so rare as he!

J. R. L.

ENCOUNTER WITH AN ICEBERG.

DR. HAYES, in his new work, "The Open Polar Sea," thus relates a dangerous encounter with an iceberg:

Giving too little heed to the currents, we were eagerly watching the indications of wind which appeared at the South, and hoping for a breeze, when it was discovered that the tide had changed and was stealthily setting us upon a nest of bergs which lay to leeward. One of them was of that description known among the crew by the significant title of "touch-me-not," and presented that jagged, honey-combed appearance indicative of great age. They are unpleasant neighbors. The least disturbance of their equilibrium may cause the whole mass to crumble to pieces, and woe be to the unlucky vessel that is caught in the dissolution.

In such a trap it seemed, however, that we stood a fair chance of being ensnared. The current was carrying us along at an uncomfortably rapid rate. A boat was lowered as quickly as possible, to run out a line to a berg which lay grounded about a hundred yards from us. While this was being done, we grazed the side of a berg which rose a hundred feet above our topmasts, then slipped past another of smaller dimensions. By pushing against them with our ice-poles, we changed somewhat the course of the schooner; but when we thought that we were steering clear of the mass which we so much dreaded, an eddy changed the direction of our drift, and carried us almost broadside upon it.

The schooner struck on the starboard quarter, and the shock, slight though it was, disengaged some fragments of ice that were large enough to have crushed the vessel, had they struck her, and also many little lumps which rattled about us; but fortunately no person was hit. The quarter-deck was quickly cleared, and all hands, crowding forward, anxiously watched the boat. The berg now began to revolve, and was settling slowly over us; the little lumps fell thicker and faster upon the after deck, and the forecastle was the only place where there was the least chance of safety.

At length the berg itself saved us from destruction. An immense mass broke off from that part which was beneath the surface of the sea, and this, a dozen times larger than the schooner, came rushing up within a few yards of us, sending a vast volume of foam and water from its sides. This rupture arrested the revolution, and the berg began to settle in the opposite direction. And now came another danger. A long tongue was protruding immediately underneath the schooner; already the keel was slipping and grinding upon it, and it seemed probable that we should be knocked up into the air like a football, or at least capsized. The side of our enemy soon leaned from us, and we were in no danger from the worse than hailstone showers which had driven us forward; so we sprang to the ice poles and exerted our strength in endeavoring to push the vessel off. There were no idle hands. Danger respects not the dignity of the quarter-deck.

After we had fatigued ourselves at this hard labor without any useful result, the berg came again to our relief. A loud report first startled us; another and another followed in quick succession, until the noise grew deafening and the whole air seemed a reservoir of frightful sound. The opposite side of the berg had split off, piece after piece, tumbling a vast volume of ice into the sea, and sending the berg revolving back upon us. This time the movement was quicker, fragments began again to fall, and, already sufficiently startled by the alarming dissolution which had taken place, we were in momentary expectation of seeing the whole side nearest to us break loose and crash bodily upon the schooner, in which event she would inevitably be carried down beneath it, as hopelessly doomed as a shepherd's hut beneath an Alpine avalanche.

By this time, Dodge, who had charge of the boat, had succeeded in planting an ice-anchor and attaching his rope, and greeted us with the welcome signal, "Haul in." We pulled for our lives, long and steadily. Seconds seemed minutes, and minutes hours. At length we began to move off. Slowly and steadily sank the berg behind us, carrying away the main boom and grazing hard against the quarter. But we were safe. Twenty yards away, and the disruption occurred which we had all so much dreaded. The side nearest to us now split off, and came plunging wildly down into the sea, sending over us a shower of spray, raising a swell which set us rocking to and fro as if in a gale of wind, and left us grinding in the debris of the crumbling ruin.

At last we succeeded in extricating ourselves, and were far enough away to look back calmly upon the object of our terror. It was still rocking and rolling like a thing of life. At each revolution fresh masses were disengaged, and, as its sides came up in long sweeps, great cascades tumbled and leaped from them hissing into the foaming sea. After several hours, it settled down into quietude, a mere fragment of its former greatness, while the pieces that were broken from it floated quietly away with the tide.

CLIPPING HORSES.—A year or two ago, when handsome mouse-colored, fawn-colored, and other peculiarly tinted horses first appeared in the streets, a good deal of curiosity was manifested to know where they came from. It is now generally known that the peculiar appearance of these horses is owing to the hair being clipped, or sheared off, a steed appearing quite of another color when his hair has been closely sheared. Most people suppose this operation to be a fanciful one merely, but such, it appears, is not the case. Besides adding to the beauty of a horse, the clipping is asserted to be conducive to health, and it is said a clipped horse eats less and can go farther and faster than the same horse not clipped. Besides, it is not one-half the work to take care of the animal when not covered with long hair, and the practice of clipping is thus a popular one with grooms. Of course greater care must be taken to keep a blanket on the short-haired horse in the stable, and to blanket him whenever a stop is made. With these precautions the animal is considered to be more comfortable than with his coat left the entire length, for he perspires less and quickly dries off on being put into the stall. Clipping has been practiced in England for many years, and is becoming more popular every year. The practice is also becoming more and more common here, and never was so many short-haired horses seen in our cities as the present season. The practice is almost entirely confined to driving horses, however, as team horses are necessarily obliged to stand much in the cold. Most horses appear to like the process of shearing, which is carried to great perfection, and without any danger of piercing the skin. Boston particularly affects sheared horses, and the Boston *Traveller* estimates that at least two thousand horses have been put under the shears in that city this Winter. In the vicinity of Bowdoin square there are not less than nine clipping establishments, and in three of them an aggregate of 700 horses have been sheared —*Providence Journal.*

CARD.

ARTIFICIAL FEET AND LEGS,

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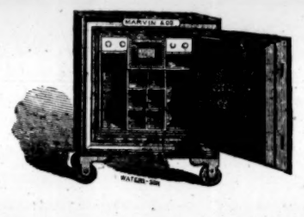

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